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AS MAINE GOES, so goes the New Deal. This in effect was the reckless slogan of the Republican cohorts in the recent primary. Governor Brann himself fought his successful campaign for reelection chiefly on State issues and the record of his first term, while his opponent countered with bitter attacks upon the Roosevelt recovery program. Thus the Republicans handed the Administration in Washington a clear-cut indorsement that may considerably modify national policies between now and election day, and it is because of their insistence rather than because of Governor Brann's reelection by a narrow margin that Mr. Roosevelt may lean upon the Maine results with confidence. As we go to press the results of the Congressional vote are still in doubt. The repeal of State prohibition by a three-to-two margin after fifty years of constitutional dryness may also be interpreted in some measure as a Democratic and New Deal victory.

AS WE GO TO PRESS, the first steps have been taken preliminary to settling the textile strike by arbitration. The establishment of the Board of Mediation and Inquiry provided an instrument to replace both the Cotton Textile National Industrial Relations Board, in which the U. T. W. A. had long since lost faith, and the National Labor Relations Board, whose theory of collective bargaining the Cotton Textile Institute refused to consider. The national strike committee of the U. T. W. A. now stands ready to submit the issues of the strike to adjudication by the new board. It is likely that arbitration will come. How soon it will come depends on two factors. First, the employers, convinced for the time being that they hold the upper hand, will seek to restrict the subject matter of arbitration within extremely narrow limits and to exclude union recognition if possible. Second, the rank and file of the Southern workers are inspired with an evangelical fervor, and are likely to break away from the control of the union leaders if the latter seek to jockey through a quick settlement on unfavorable terms. The rapidity with which the U. T. W. A. leaders have committed themselves to arbitration is susceptible of two interpretations. On the one hand, the leaders may fear that the strike is in process of disintegration. Every imaginable form of legalized violence has been used against the workers in the South, while in the North, as witness Paterson and Lawrence, the strike call has failed to cause a complete stoppage. On the other hand, the leaders conceived of the strike as a gesture designed to throw the force of the Administration behind nation-wide recognition of the union. Having staged their gesture, they are perhaps fearful lest it develop into an extensive and prolonged labor war, for the conduct of which they do not believe the union is yet ready.

TWO WEEKS before the national textile strike was called, 250 silk workers walked out at the National Dyeing and Printing Company plant at Williamsport, Pennsylvania. Within a few days 1,000 more at three Paterson plants of the company joined them. They were protesting against the company's breaking of an agreement by the discharge of seventeen workers for union activities. In Williamsport, an open-shop town until the American Federation of Hosiery Workers began organizing, a group of 100 vigilantes had already been formed. As soon as the silk strike began, the vigilantes swept into action. A number of them broke up a union strike meeting, surrounded two organizers, virtually kidnapped them, and turned them over to the police. The two victims, Frank Benti and Curtis Yeager, were held in $5,000 bail each, on an open charge, and when union leaders produced this bond it was raised to $7,000. "These men will stay in jail until the strike is over," declared the justice of the peace who heard the case. At the same time local forces clamped a rigid censorship upon all strike news. Police withheld all information about the two arrests not only from the local papers but from outside correspondents and news services, and local lawyers were warned by the vigilantes against taking the case, even disbarment and bodily assault being threatened. Labor, however, pierced the censorship and appealed for aid. Mrs. Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, wife of the Governor, and Thomas A. Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, supplied

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their personal attorneys. Union leaders laid the case before Secretary Perkins and William Green, head of the American Federation of Labor, with the result that the National Labor Relations Board asked the Philadelphia regional board to conduct a thorough investigation.

NAZI WEEK in Nürnberg was the most successful week the Nazis have ever had. The quaint old medieval town made a perfect setting for the *Führer's* fantastic new medieval ideas, which under the modern methods of Herr Goebbels have now grown to enormous size. While 500,000 cheered, the *Führer* announced seven major wonders in as many days, and numerous minor ones. National Socialism has put an end to the class struggle, strikes and lockouts are unnecessary, and only 2,420,000 Germans are unemployed; the social-welfare organization, Strength Through Joy, has enabled 1,500,000 Germans to take vacation trips, of whom 70,000 took long sea voyages (these figures do not include of course the 70,000 Jews who took long sea voyages last year because of the activities of the Society of Joy Through Brute Force). Herr Hitler further declared that the Greeks were akin to the National Socialists; that the 4,000,000 Germans who voted no in the plebiscite will soon get what is coming to them: "Our next attack will demolish the opposition"; that only a pure race can develop high art. He told 180,000 out of the 700,000 party bosses who keep the rest of the German people under control at the public expense that their mission was God given. He declared that there will not be a revolution in Germany for 1,000 years and he advised the foreign press to cease bothering with the petty temporal business of gathering news in Germany and to discover instead "the metaphysical roots of National Socialism." His economic figures were among the largest ever seen at a National Socialist convention. The national income, he said, increased in 1933 by one billion marks, and bank deposits rose more than two billion. He did not mention foreign trade or foreign policy. Obviously they would not have fitted in with the rest of the program.

JAPAN'S REPLY to Moscow's note protesting against the arrests of Soviet citizens and interference with the Chinese Eastern Railway has only heightened the tension between the two countries. Without assuming responsibility for the actions of the Manchoukuo police, Japan upholds the arrests and charges the Soviet employees of the railroad with having caused the disastrous wrecks which have recently taken place on the C. E. R. In support of this charge it alleges that most of the difficulty has occurred on the eastern branch of the railway, that the trains attacked were military goods trains, and that few Soviet citizens have been killed or injured. Meanwhile, Soviet indignation has been aroused by the publication of affidavits from physicians of a Harbin hospital showing that two Soviet citizens, a man and a woman, had been tortured by Japanese police in an effort to obtain "confessions" of complicity in a plot to cause such wrecks. Yet although Soviet public opinion appears convinced that the Japanese are preparing to seize the railway, few observers believe that war is an immediate threat. The amazing restraint shown by the Soviet government in the face of extreme provocation is sufficient indication of the sincerity of the Kremlin's pacific policies. At the same time it is reasonably clear that Japan is not prepared to attack the Soviet Union. The extensive modernization of the Japanese army, now under way, will not be completed for another year, and with the Soviet Union entering the League, the international situation is peculiarly unfavorable to Japan. While there is always danger that Japanese militarists in North Manchuria will take matters into their own hands, the likelihood of open conflict appears to be in inverse ratio to the fury of the newspaper headlines.

THE BITTERNESS with which the Saar plebiscite campaign is being conducted has given rise to grave anxiety lest Germany, if it is unexpectedly defeated at the polls, resort to force in an effort to sustain its national prestige. This anxiety has not been allayed by the disclosure that thousands of German residents of the Saar have been receiving secret military training in the Reich. Although there has hitherto been little reason to doubt that the great German majority in the region would vote to rejoin Germany, the rise of Hitler has added greatly to the opposition. The Saar contains working-class groups which are bitterly anti-Nazi; the Catholics, who comprise 70 per cent of the population, are wavering in their allegiance because of the conflict between the church and the National Socialist government. A section of Catholic opinion has come out definitely against reunion with Germany and has joined the Socialists and Communists in what is known as the Liberty Front. Needless to say, France has not been slow to capitalize this discontent. Although it recognizes that a vote for adherence to France is out of the question, it has promised to cede the valuable Saar mines to local residents in case they vote to remain under League supervision. If Germany wins, on the other hand, the French have announced that they will insist on full repayment before they surrender control of the mines. Because of the extraordinary pressure being exerted by both sides the League Commission is finding it increasingly difficult to cope with the situation, and has requested that it be furnished with 2,000 extra police until after the completion of the poll on January 13. The significance of these developments as a focal point in European politics is discussed more in detail in an article by Robert Dell which appears elsewhere in this issue.

WE REGRET to note that the British Trade Union Congress has reversed the action taken a year ago by the Labor Party committing the workers to a general strike in the event of war. Retreat from the earlier action was justified on the ground that a general strike in Britain alone would be useless, and that in view of the present situation in Europe it would be impossible to win cooperation from organized labor in other nations. Since aggression by the United Kingdom was held to be out of the question, the congress was reluctant to commit itself in advance to a strike in all contingencies. The body was also unwilling to advise a walkout on the part of workers in the munitions industry on the ground that such a movement might lead to a general strike. While it would be folly to deny that the rise of fascism in Europe has diminished the hope of cooperative labor action in time of war, it is suicidal to hold that efforts to prevent international conflict must await universal support. Experience in the last war proved that unless the ground is prepared in advance for such action, it is unlikely to be taken at all.

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IT WOULD NOT BE SURPRISING if Premier Mussolini's reported plan to take women out of industry and fill their places with men were to be carried out in fact. This is the accepted pattern of the dictator, which Hitler has already followed faithfully. An editorial in a recent issue of the *Popolo d'Italia* (Milan) declares:

> The working woman creates the problem of population decrease as well as that of unemployment. Oftentimes the working woman saves a family otherwise abandoned, but her work generally is a source of political and moral bitterness. . . . The exodus of woman from the field of labor doubtless would have economic repercussions in many families, but a legion of men would lift humiliated heads and a hundred times more new families would enter the national life.

Doubtless the patriotic women of Italy will turn happily to their tasks not only of creating hundreds of new families but of lifting humiliation from the heads of the men who will subsequently step into their jobs. There is of course the question whether or not the unhumiliated men will be willing to work for the traditionally depressed wages which women are paid in any industry, but this is a matter which an all-powerful dictator can be expected to meet with proper aplomb. And whether or not these same wages will support all the new families may offer other difficulties. But these are minor aspects of the resurgence of the dominant male. To that glorious end, Italian women should cheerfully resign themselves to being transferred, as some wag has put it, from the field of industry to that of labor.

PENNSYLVANIA, citadel of reaction, may get a New Deal of its own this year. Governor Pinchot, who has shown increasing dissatisfaction with the Grand Old Party—which he once before repudiated, in the Bull Moose campaign—is swinging toward the Democrats, and by way of helping them has withdrawn from the Senatorial contest. He thus paves the way for a clear-cut issue of conservatism versus liberalism between Senator David Aiken Reed, familiarly known as "Mellon's messenger boy," and Joseph F. Guffey, the Democratic nominee. Governor Pinchot's withdrawal will undoubtedly swing a large block of progressive and labor votes to Guffey, and although the man himself has none of the social consciousness, determination, sagacity, and background of a Pinchot, there is only one choice between the elements backing him and the Pennsylvania Railroad-Mellon-Grundy-ex-Vare combination for whom Reed speaks. If Guffey wins, as he is expected to do, he will undoubtedly carry with him his running mate, George H. Earle, former Minister to Austria, who is seeking the governor's chair. Such a victory would put Pennsylvania in the Democratic column for the first time since 1890 and herald for Philadelphia the first Democratic mayor in nearly half a century. In the gubernatorial contest, however, it may be more than a straight two-party fight between Earle and William A. Schnader, his Republican opponent. At the last moment Mrs. Pinchot, a seasoned campaigner in her own right, filed nomination papers and if she does not withdraw by September 17 will be an independent candidate. Until she decides definitely, as she may have done by the time this is read, prediction would be useless, for though she is faced by formidable foemen she is a colorful figure with a definite liberal and labor program and a large following. Meanwhile the liberalism of the Democrats has forced the sedate State Republican Committee far over to the left from its own point of view. Pennsylvania will be well worth watching as election day draws near.

SOUTH DAKOTA seems to be adopting California methods in dealing with the red menace. According to the Aberdeen *American-News,* a group of Communists who had been conducting a school in Britton, South Dakota, were seized upon by the members of the American Legion Auxiliary, beaten almost to a pulp, and compelled to leave town after signing statements promising a "favorable" attitude toward the United States government hereafter. There were two aspects of the affair which made it differ slightly—in degree if not in kind—from other raids by patriots and vigilantes on persons thought to be dangerously radical. One was a phrase in the *American-News's* story about the attack. The story said: "Belt buckles, fists, and shoes were used by Brittonites *in illustrating the power of the United States government* [italics ours]." The other was a telegram to the legionnaires from the Governor of the State, Tom Berry by name, giving them permission to "do anything to drive them [the Communists] out of here." This is precisely in line with the late Governor Rolph's tactics after the San José lynching last winter and with Governor Merriam's similar incitement during the San Francisco strikes. It is giving high official sanction to lawlessness and is probably the most dangerous form which legal lynching can take. It should be made clear to the Governor of South Dakota—and one cannot doubt that there are enough law-abiding citizens in the State to do so—that his duty is to uphold and not to break the law.

IN the pre-sunrise horror of high wind, heavy sea, and tearing flame, the pleasure steamship Morro Castle, equipped with the best modern safety and fire-fighting devices, ended her last voyage. Reports of the disaster have been hysterical, conflicting, incomplete. The ship was burning amidships, so that to many persons access to the lifeboats was cut off; the fire was not announced to the passengers until an hour after it was discovered; more than an hour elapsed between the first sight of the fire and the first SOS signal. Passengers report that the members of the crew were faithful and helpful; others found them disorganized, reckless, negligent. Lifeboats with a dozen persons in them, when they had room for seventy-five, were seen by survivors. The cries of persons in the water were ignored. It is possible that the truth will never be known—the stories of incendiarism and red plots told at the hearings seem so far to be without much foundation. But given an acting captain who had been elevated to his responsibility by the unexpected death of the master a few hours before, a man who had risen from seaman to first officer, a man who had the personal courage to remain on the bridge until his burning ship grounded, but who was probably unequal to the tremendous demands on his executive ability that the emergency made, and perhaps the situation is clarified. He thought he could put out the fire; he thought there was time to send the SOS; he remained on the bridge instead of directing the passengers and crew. With the best will in the world, it is altogether likely that Captain Warms's inexperience and inevitable nervous tension contributed largely to the tragedy.

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If France and Italy Agree

THE slow forces which are giving new form to international relations in Europe are bringing France and Italy together after years of quiet hostility. The recent discussions between Mussolini and Ambassador de Chambrun may not have resulted in final agreement. But remaining differences can only be over details; the vital factor would be the will to agree.

Only two outstanding problems need to be settled between the two countries—a minor one over the rights of Italians in Tunis, and the greater one over relative naval strength. So long as Mussolini was determined to oppose the French in Eastern Europe and carve out an Italian sphere of influence, he would not yield on the naval question. For years he tried to make it appear logical that Italy, with the same population as France, was entitled to the same influence on the continent of Europe and in Africa. Now he is yielding to the implacable fact that Italy is not as strong as her rival, and in the Europe of today cannot hope to become so.

He has not made up his own mind. It was made up for him by his pupil, Adolf Hitler. Not until the Nazi Putsch in Austria could the Duce learn that Hitler would not or could not keep his promise to respect the independence of Austria. Italy had a free run as rival of France only if Germany remained content not to expand her influence to Austria and Hungary. Mussolini at first hoped to guide the Germans by suasion, and control them by obligations of gratitude. He became their champion in the two great questions of treaty revision and rearmament. He even contemplated leaving the League to keep them company, and talked frankly with the British about the imperative need of modifying the League to meet Germany's wishes. For a year Hitler fell in with his master's strategy and let Mussolini battle for German rights. And if Mussolini had been able to achieve quick results in the way of German rearmament and revision of treaties and of the League itself, undoubtedly he would have put off the dread day of the Anschluss, de facto or de jure. When he failed in this respect he drove Dollfuss to crush the Socialists so as to be strong enough to defeat the Austrian Nazis. He summoned Hitler to a parley and extracted from him the promise of Austrian independence.

But dictators cannot turn back the tides of human emotions. Whether or not Hitler at Venice believed he could prevent the Nazi Putsch or cared to prevent it is neither here nor there. He could not hold his own in Germany if he thwarted the natural tendency of Austria and Germany to unite. Mussolini might bid him to, he might accede, but he would only be postponing the inevitable. His followers in the hypnosis of early success had accepted the Polish pact and the status quo of the Corridor. Now the hypnosis had passed off, and they saw that Hitler was steadily losing abroad, despite his own efforts and Mussolini's. His very weakness at home advanced the day of the Nazi Putsch.

Nothing in this is astonishing. What is astonishing is that Mussolini refused to see it, and dreamed of averting it. Now, according to dispatches, he is ready to join with France in opposing full rearmament for Germany. Now, too, he is ready to accept naval cooperation with France, and a formula which will gloss over the truth that France with her greater wealth can build a greater navy than can Italy.

Cooperation between France and Italy, together with Russia's entrance into the League of Nations, would give Europe for a time a new system of international relations. It would be a system of everybody against Hitler, and it would be the realization of the *Einkreisung* which the Germans so much dreaded at the beginning of the century. The pre-war system of balance would be superseded by unbalance, a new experiment in European history. It could hardly be permanent, if for no other reason than that Germany could not endure it. Sooner or later, either under the Nazis or under their successors, Germany would rejoin Europe on Europe's terms. And then for the first time a still more novel system might emerge, the system of the League. If this should come to pass, the danger of an early war would be immeasurably reduced. Germany without important allies, and encircled by a ring of states united by the single determination to oppose her aggression, could not for years fight with hope of victory.

To be sure this is presupposing a great deal. The pact of amity between France and Italy must be sealed. The limitation of naval armaments, always a travesty so long as these two Powers did not join, must become a reality. Hope must revive in the pacifying mission of the League. These are the immediate prerequisites of a return within a few years to any attempt to make an honest trial of the League system. There are still more fundamental difficulties. Europe has yet to demonstrate that her capitalism can be nursed back to recovery, and without recovery there can be no accurate estimate of what will happen, even in the next two or three years. Should France go fascist, the effect on international affairs would be extraordinary. Should Hitler be swept out of power by a Communist uprising, all our habitual conceptions of Europe would be valueless. Should the next years be an era not of the wars which have been generally predicted but of civil wars, no one could hope to guess the outcome accurately. And a war between Russia and Japan would certainly come close to wrecking the peace of Europe, despite Russia's entry into the League.

These darker possibilities are more familiar to the public than the immediate outlook which would be opened by a Franco-Italian rapprochement. Admittedly Europe is developing both economically and politically, and the economic development is obscure and unpredictable, except to Marxists, who are confident that capitalism ultimately will be replaced by communism. Admittedly political developments will be determined by economic changes; but for the moment Europe is tending politically toward this new condition of unbalance, and toward a brief relaxation from the fear of an international war of purely European origin. Other conditions permitting, Europe with ten years of peace might find it necessary as well as desirable to merge this unbalance into a general League system. If Barthou, as is reported, visits Rome next month, or next year if more time is needed, it may prove to be the opening of a new chapter of history.

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The Death Business

THE Senate inquiry into the sale of munitions of war which is at present being conducted in Washington under the chairmanship of Senator Nye has shaken out more lightning than has any other government investigation in years. Indeed, the sensations have come out too fast for public assimilation, and a not over-sympathetic press, while it has generally awarded the hearings the front-page prominence they deserve, has also failed to classify and interpret the dramatic disclosures that each day brings forth.

For this reason it is worth while to review some of the facts which have come out so far. The international nature of the arms industry has been made clear. The Electric Boat Company of Groton, Connecticut, is shown not only to be closely allied with the British firm of Vickers, Ltd., to the extent of dividing up the world's submarine business and amiably exchanging patents when necessary, but to have the world famous Sir Basil Zaharoff as a stockholder, paying him some two million dollars in commissions over a period of years. (Incidentally the officers of Electric Boat were kind enough to advise Sir Basil about the allocation of these commissions so that his United States income tax on them could be scaled down or avoided altogether. In return for this kindness Sir Basil contributed advice on how to peddle submarines in Spain under the protective approval of the Navy Department.) Moreover, the Electric Boat Company has been in close touch with a large munitions concern in Berlin which wished to make contacts with American manufacturers of submachine-guns to be used "by certain organizations in Germany." Since the latter proposal was made during the current year, it is not difficult to surmise what the "certain organizations" may be.

The second most interesting thing about the munitions inquiry is its disclosure of the methods employed to make sales of arms in certain countries. A frank but highly confidential letter from Lawrence Y. Spear, vice-president of the Electric Boat Company, to Commander C. W. Craven of Vickers explains just how business must be conducted in the South American trade. The country in question was Chile; the letter was written in November, 1927, when relations between Chile and Peru were strained over the Tacna-Arica dispute. Mr. Spear wrote: "We all know, however, the real foundation of all South American business is graft. . . . I would not be too modest about the price and would cover it with a substantial amount in excess of the 10 per cent above referred to, my own experience being that at the last minute something extra is always needed to grease the ways." Mr. Spear denied that such expedition of business was in the form of bribes, and described the payments as "commissions."

Possibly the most interesting single letter so far offered in evidence by Senator Nye's committee is one written by Sterling J. Joyner, director of the Electric Boat Company. Mr. Joyner, it is true, was making a report to his company, and it may be that his desire to appear successful in their eyes made him exaggerate a little his own efforts. What he said, in the simplest and tersest of language, was that his lobbying activities had resulted in the election of two members of the Rules Committee in Congress who would, one assumes, not be too hostile to the interests of the Electric Boat Company. The two gentlemen in question, Representative Joseph W. Martin of Massachusetts and former Representative Franklin Fort of New Jersey, have entered categorical and emphatic denials that Mr. Joyner had anything to do with their appointments. In another letter, equally interesting, however, Mr. Joyner goes more fully into the question of delicate governmental manipulation. The activities of his office, he declares, were responsible for the passage in Congress of the second deficiency bill in 1929, which resulted in the settlement of a claim for three million dollars, awarded, as he modestly points out, in the face of some three thousand other claims which took precedence of it. Mr. Joyner could not say who had helped him: "My reason for not putting this in writing is out of respect for those who helped, and who were so powerful and so friendly. The code of honor between men makes it unethical to name persons." Fortunately the same code of honor did not hinder collection of the claim out of its turn.

It has become apparent during the course of the hearings that disarmament conferences are one of the minor annoyances in the munitions business. Thus Commander Craven of Vickers, writing to President Carse of Electric Boat, referred rather petulantly to the possible interference of "Geneva or some other fancy convention" in the sale of submarines; and later on he was even more specific in referring to the difficulties that might ensue if "Geneva or any other troublesome organization upsets the large submarine." From the Electric Boat Company to Commander Craven in turn came the complaint that "it is too bad that the pernicious activities of our State Department have put the brakes on armament orders."

It is superfluous to make comment on these activities, so earnestly carried on, and in general with so much success. But surely enough has appeared so far to make the disclosures of Senator Nye's committee worth following at every point.

More Liberty Needed

MR. HERBERT HOOVER, affectionately recalled as the man who coined the popular slogan, "Now's the time to buy," has come forward after a year and a half of silent thought with a new specific for our ailments. What we need now, it seems, is liberty. And if anybody has any doubt what sort of liberty is meant, he need only read Mr. Hoover's article in a recent *Saturday Evening Post* or wait for the full text of the discourse to appear in book form on September 28—surprisingly enough just about a month before election day—to discover that liberty is embodied in the tenets of a certain unnamed party at present in political eclipse. Whereas our present troubles, identified as "regimentation," appear to derive from a band of will-o'-the-wisps (Dem.) in high office who are leading us "either to the swamps of primitive greed or to political tyranny."

Now his worst enemy never accused Mr. Hoover of being a will-o'-the-wisp. He was a stolid man in office. The foundations crumbled and finally slid out from under, but all the while Mr. Hoover sat pat. He didn't even fiddle. And when the end came he went, peaceably enough, out from among the ruins and apparently has put in his long leisure

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observing with disgust the active efforts of his successors to clear away the debris and throw together some sort of a temporary structure. It is natural that all this activity should look misleading and flighty to Mr. Hoover and that the present Administration's demand that all citizens—even Mr. Hoover's fellow financiers and industrialists—come to the defense of the country should seem like tyranny.

For there was liberty in Mr. Hoover's day, and his mind has evidently turned back to it with longing. Then farmers could plant their crops, harvest them in abundance, sell them at a loss, struggle with their curtailed income to buy manufactured goods at high prices from protected industries, go deeper into debt, and finally forfeit their land to the banks that held their mortgages. And the banks, in those days, could lend their depositors' money to farmers who had bought their land at boom prices and could collect farms in lieu of interest and principal and then borrow money from Mr. Hoover's RFC to cover up their bankruptcy, and finally close their doors with what was left of their depositors' money inside. Or they could lend their depositors' money to foreign governments to pay interest on previous loans which had been made to pay interest on still earlier loans which had been made to cover purchases of goods from American industrialists who were also American bank officials or their associates. And bank officials could borrow money from their own banks without collateral or interest to enable them to carry their stock commitments while they were busy selling out their customers whose collateral was weak. As for the stock market, it was Liberty Hall. If business boomed, stocks soared so much higher as to make the industries they represented look like limping cripples. Credit was easy, profits huge, losses stupendous, suckers to be caught in every pool, and there were plenty of high buildings to jump from when the spree ended. In those happy days industrial profits could be turned rapidly into plant and equipment, so that more production could produce more profits; and that would have been nice all around if only the ultimate consumer had accumulated purchasing power as fast as industry accumulated and used its producing power. But he couldn't, because profits were too busy being turned back into plant; and when Mr. Hoover published his recipe for prosperity, mentioned in the first line of this article, he forgot to include the ingredients; and so the consumer buttoned his liberty tightly around him and consumed his cup of coffee at the nearest Salvation Army shelter.

Now we have, in place of liberty, various measures of control—named by their enemies regimentation and tyranny and dictatorship. It is true that many of them are of questionable value, that the whole program is still tentative; it is true, too, that they involve a degree of centralization which inevitably carries with it the danger of bureaucracy. But it may be said that in only one way can these effects be lessened—by the cooperation of business and of all the other groups in defense of whose liberty Mr. Hoover uttered his carefully timed pronouncement. Without that cooperation control may easily pass into regimentation and dictatorship; for the forces which brought collapse can only be thwarted by collective action and that may be obtained either voluntarily or under duress. Mr. Hoover and his friends, by their talk of liberty and their acts of resistance or sabotage, are apparently determined to bring out the fascist tendencies that indisputably lurk in the shadows of the New Deal.

Monkeys and Men

OUR revered neighbor, the New York *Times*, in one of its invaluable scientific news stories, describes certain experiments that psychologists at Yale University have been making with children and chimpanzees. The test consisted in measuring the time required for a child and for a monkey to respond to a spectacle, a contact, or a sound by pressing down a telegraph key. The chimpanzees were four of a group of forty which have been growing up at Yale during the last nine years. The two children were provided—for the purposes of the experiment—by members of the faculty. The test was made twice—once with no reward stimulus to speed up the responses, once after the children had been promised all kinds of pleasant things if they hurried up and pressed the key as soon as the direction was provided. It was found that the results were the same in all cases. The monkeys were just as quick as the children in making the connection between order and execution.

At the same time that the Yale experiments were being made, the University of Wisconsin was making other tests with monkeys, this time without the benefit of a human control. It was desired to determine the "social behavior of previously unacquainted monkeys when introduced into cages in pairs of the same sex." Fifteen pairs of monkeys, without previous introduction, were thrust into the same cage, one pair at a time. It was found that within twenty minutes the "dominant" monkey asserted itself and the other one assumed without question a submissive role. The dominant one got any food dropped into the cage 121 out of 125 times; he was the bully 265 times out of 276; he avoided a fight only 3 times out of 418. He was, indeed, the one who started the fight 173 times out of 203.

It would certainly be unscientific, on the basis of these simple and perhaps incomplete tests, to jump to too many conclusions on the relative merits of monkeys and men. Possibly the children of other university faculties would be smarter than the Yale chimpanzees. Possibly the dominant Wisconsin monkeys, if they had been properly presented to their partners by the methods sanctioned by Mrs. Emily Post, would have been able to curb some of their all-too-human propensities to grab the best bits of banana. But there is surely a slightly depressing note in these results for all those persons like the editors of *The Nation* who yearn for a better world. The chimpanzee, otherwise the most manlike of the monkeys, according to the best scientific opinion is definitely precluded from the attainment of culture by its incapacity for speech. In spite of its rude approximation of human behavior evidenced by its desire to dominate its weaker brothers, it cannot, therefore, manipulate governments, attain to high office by questionable means, conduct lynching parties, or make war. It lives on the whole a simple rural life in the tops of trees and subsists on a high-vitamin diet of fresh fruit and vegetables. One would hesitate, in the midst of the panaceas offered so abundantly to improve the sometimes difficult relationships of mankind, to offer another with frivolous intent. But nobody has ever considered the possibility of depriving the new-born babe of his speech organs. In the light of the experiments described above, perhaps it might be worth thinking about.

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Issues and Men

The Boycott of Germany

FROM a distinguished American of long European experience come these words: "The net result of the silly boycott of German goods has enabled Schacht with some justice to postpone payment of interest on our debt there, and in addition has cost us scores of millions of dollars per year in American trade with Germany." There is considerable truth in these words. Schacht, who is now the complete financial and economic dictator of Germany, has just put it this way: "If German goods are being barred or boycotted, the foreign bond-holder and the foreign exporter are the losers. When we are boycotted commercially and defamed politically it is not Germany that suffers but the Australian wool grower, the American cotton planter, the yarn spinner in Lancashire, the Scottish herring fisher, and the Spanish orange grower." Again, this is partially sound, because it is perfectly true that we cannot sell American goods to Germany unless we are willing to take German goods in return. But Germany does suffer and Schacht knows it. I have never failed to admit that a boycott is a two-edged sword, and that, if carried far enough, it may create a dangerous situation which might even conceivably lead to hostilities. None the less, the fact is that the boycott of Germany has grown out of a world-wide belief that Germany has gone temporarily insane, and that some measure must be taken to let its people know that the moral indignation of the world is deeply aroused and is finding a way of making itself felt commercially.

It would of course be a great deal better if the boycott could be restricted to the spiritual field: if public opinion could be so aroused as to make things extremely uncomfortable for Germans traveling abroad; if there could be a complete shunning of Germany by foreigners. That would be one way of bringing home to the German people the feelings of the rest of the world. This is difficult because Hitler and Goebbels completely control the German press. They do not allow the publication of any facts relating to the boycott or its extensive character. It was months before Hitler would mention it. Then he said only that the boycott in the United States and Great Britain "was dying out"—one of the *Führer's* innumerable lies. But so serious has been the development of the boycott that Schacht himself sees it can no longer be ignored or pooh-poohed or attributed merely to the international Jewry. In the desperate economic straits in which Germany finds itself, it has become necessary —or expedient—for Schacht to let the outside world know how concerned he is over the boycott.

If this costs the United States, England, and other countries millions of dollars, I cannot see that that is necessarily the decisive factor. On the contrary, it seems rather creditable that nations and individuals are willing to undergo a loss rather than do business with those who have reduced Germany to its present low estate. In the United States we are accused of being a country that puts dollars above ethics, and everything else. If large numbers of our business men, our importers, and our dry-goods stores are unwilling to handle German goods, does it not show that we have some idealism and moral indignation left, and that in the commercial boycott we are beginning to forge a new weapon in international relations? That goes far deeper than the question of whether we are cutting off our nose to spite our face in imposing the German boycott. I am sorry for the loss of business, especially during this depression, but the policy of international protest seems to me far more important. Moreover, if we could only end the senseless deadlock with Russia, we should speedily get enough business from that country to offset our voluntary loss of sales to Germany.

As long as the Hitler Government remains, it is a menace to the peace and welfare of the world, to democratic institutions, to liberty and humanity everywhere. Why have we not the right, therefore, to utilize any peaceful weapon we may have to bring about its downfall, or, if that is not possible, at least to let multitudes of Germans know how outraged some people—almost all of them formerly warm friends and supporters of Germany—are by what is taking place in that country today? Hitler's control of the press cannot possibly conceal the facts from the bulk of the German business world. They know what is going on even if the prostituted German press cannot talk about it.

I have never believed in Schacht, even when he properly pleaded that Germany be freed from the economic fetters of the Treaty of Versailles. It is my belief that if a Communist government were to arrive in Berlin and were to ask him to continue to head the Reichsbank, he would serve it as loyally as he is serving Hitler, and as he formerly served the republic until he was supplanted in the Reichsbank by Dr. Luther. It is almost amusing now to find him coming out into the open and saying that he has not the slightest thought of living up to the recent special agreements for payment to England, France, and other countries. In a special interview printed on August 26 he said of these arrangements: "They just simply won't work. . . . They are unreasonable and unfeasible." Then why did Germany sign these agreements? To sign them and then immediately to repudiate them is to make his nation's word no better than a dicer's oath. The *Times* has recently recalled Schacht's utterances in his book "The Stabilization of the Mark" and in a speech delivered in New York in October, 1930, in which he declared that whoever invested any money in Germany after the war in any form "will not be disappointed, because Germany will pay the debt. And I include the . . . Young loan . . . because it does not matter what the reasons for that loan were . . . it matters only who has invested his money in that loan." And now he deliberately says there will be no payment of Dawes or Young bond coupons, and that, as for the principal, there will be an indefinite moratorium.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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United States and World Recovery

By MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE significance of the various pronouncements which have appeared in recent weeks attributing our economic upturn to the New Deal completely vanishes when it is realized that numerous other countries, pursuing diverse policies, have enjoyed a similar revival. Evidence that natural recuperative forces have been in operation may be found in the widespread and general character of the recovery. For the world as a whole the lowest point in the depression seems to have been reached at the end of June, 1932. Following the unexpectedly successful termination of the Lausanne conference, there was a gradual return of business confidence which spread to all the leading nations—including the United States. This improvement was soon checked, however, by the American banking crisis, with the result that in March, 1933, world conditions were very little better than in the previous summer. That the setback was of relatively short duration was due largely to the energy and courage displayed by President Roosevelt in meeting the crisis. By June, 1933, confidence had once more returned, and a new revival set in throughout the world which continued with undiminished force until this past spring.

An analysis of this upturn reveals a consistency in the pattern of recovery that is quite apart from the particular economic policies adopted by the various governments. Without exception the improvement has been greatest in the field of industry. By March of the present year the indices of industrial production showed that about half of the total losses of the depression had been regained. Taking the average for 1932 as 100, the relative positions of the leading countries for 1933 and March, 1934, were as follows:

	1933	*March, 1934*
Canada	105	124
France	113	108
Germany	113	137
Great Britain	105	117
Japan	119	129
Sweden	103	123
United States	119	131

These figures require a word of explanation. Although the two countries which suffered the greatest relative loss in the depression—Germany and the United States—appear to have achieved the largest recovery, both of these nations lag far behind the others when production is compared with the 1928 level. Great Britain, Japan, and Sweden have definitely surpassed the pre-depression index of industrial activity, while Canada, Germany, and the United States are still approximately 20 per cent below normal.

Though the existence of recovery is indisputable, three factors were suggested in last week's *Nation* which cast doubt on the stability of the American upturn: (1) exorbitant governmental expenditures; (2) failure of labor to obtain a full share in the fruits of business revival; and (3) the fact that the improvement has not been extended to international trade.

With a few exceptions these same factors of instability exist in practically all countries. The principal exception is in connection with public expenditures. While most nations have sought to reduce unemployment by means of an expansion of public works, thus piling up budgetary deficits, Great Britain and certain of her colonies have achieved a substantial measure of recovery by the opposite policy of drastic governmental economy. Balanced budgets, however, have been extremely unusual. Germany, France, Italy, and Japan, like the United States, have striven vainly to hold their deficits to manageable proportions.

Perhaps the most distressing feature of the upturn has been the failure of the working class to obtain its share of the gains of greater industrial activity. Although employment has increased in most countries, it has in no case kept pace with the advance in production. The total number of jobless in February of this year in eleven of the leading nations was more than 21,500,000, a decrease of only two million from the average of 1932. Such improvement as has occurred, moreover, has been concentrated in four countries—Germany, Great Britain, Japan, and the United States. If we eliminate the German figures from the total, because of the dubious character of Nazi statistics, world unemployment in the early part of 1934 exceeded the 1932 average and was only slightly less than that of a year ago.

The experience of the United States in this connection has been typical. Unemployment in February, 1934, was only 1 per cent less than the average for 1932, and 5 per cent less than in 1933. But even in Great Britain, where the greatest degree of improvement has occurred, there are twice as many jobless as in 1928, although industrial production has exceeded the 1928 level. Moreover, there are considerable sections of the country where a quarter to a third of the workers are still without employment and are unlikely ever to be reabsorbed. In the countries which have retained the gold standard unemployment conditions are even worse than a year ago.

Statistics regarding standards of living and real wages are frequently difficult to obtain, but there seems little doubt that here too the working class has lost ground during the recovery period. In Germany, for example, wages have remained stationary or declined slightly, while the cost of living has advanced from 5 to 10 per cent. As in the United States, the decline in public buying power has been reflected in the turnover in retail trade, which, except during the recent buying panic, has been running substantially below that of the previous year. In France, where a desperate struggle is being waged to prevent a devaluation of the franc, the loss has been even more marked. Wages have undergone a slight decline as a result of the economy measures of the Doumergue Cabinet, while the cost of living, both in Paris and in the provincial cities, has shown a marked rise. Similarly, Japanese recovery, more spectacular than that of any other nation, has been achieved almost entirely at the expense of the working class. Average business profits have risen from 4 per cent in 1931 to 8½ per cent in 1933, but real wages are less than they were in 1931 and 11 per cent lower than in 1926.

Nor is the United States alone in suffering a further decline in the value of its foreign commerce. For 1933 the

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total value of world trade, measured in terms of gold, was 9 per cent below the 1932 level and 65 per cent under that of 1929. Although the loss was most severe in Canada and the United States, where it reflected a depreciation in the value of the dollar, no country has been able to hold its own during the past year. Even Japan, which obtained a large increase in the yen value of its exports, experienced a 5 per cent loss in the gold value of its trade. While to a considerable extent the decline of world trade merely reflected a further lowering in gold prices, estimates of the quantum of trade also show a slight contraction for the past year.

Not only is the extent of the reduction in world trade without parallel in previous depressions, but its failure to respond to domestic revival is likewise without precedent. It appears, therefore, that while the progress of recovery in the various countries is related, the impetus has only to a minor extent been transmitted through foreign trade. It is true that the increased purchasing power of certain of the raw-material producing countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, has brought greater balance into the world economy, but such developments have been few and far between. Lacking direct stimulus such as would be afforded by a resumption of trade or foreign lending, the striking similarities in the various recovery movements can be explained only on the ground of likeness of internal developments. Certain of these are reasonably obvious. With a tightening of the restrictions on international trade new construction has been required to furnish the domestic market with goods formerly purchased abroad. In addition, most countries have undertaken relatively large-scale programs of public works which have enlarged mass buying power, while restriction of production of primary products has in some cases served to restore equilibrium to the economic structure. Finally, there has been the unquestioned stimulus afforded by currency depreciation and the drift toward higher commodity prices. It is scarcely accidental that the most pronounced improvement in business conditions has taken place in nations which have adopted an expansionist monetary policy.

With these powerful forces working toward recovery, how are we to explain the setback which has occurred throughout the world in the past few months? It is possible, of course, that it is merely a temporary relapse which has resulted from too rapid progress. The nature of the slump appears, however, to preclude such a conclusion. It is significant to observe, for example, that the recovery process was first checked in the countries remaining on the gold standard. Many of the gains of a year ago have already been lost in France and Italy, while countries like Japan and Australia, which allowed their currencies to depreciate to an even greater extent than the United States or Great Britain, have maintained a relatively larger gain than the majority of nations. These facts would suggest that the nationalistic policies which the various countries have adopted in order to stimulate a revival of domestic business activity have not only reacted against international trade but have likewise checked the natural forces of world recovery.

Considering the character of most of the measures adopted, little else could have been expected. The net effect of tariffs, quotas, bounties, and exchange restrictions has been not only to curtail trade, but to accentuate existing disparities in the price structure and thereby prevent normal adjustments to changed conditions. At worst, however, these devices might be said to stabilize the depression at a relatively low point. A depreciated currency, on the other hand, is an aggressive weapon which cannot fail to exercise a powerful deflationary influence on world prices. With the majority of the nations of the world engaged in a frantic competition to improve their relative trade position by juggling the gold value of their currencies, it is obvious that fresh defenses must constantly be adopted to protect the domestic markets, a process which if unchecked could only lead to a complete cessation of foreign trade.

While no one country alone is responsible for the excesses of economic nationalism which have occurred in recent years, the United States, because of its size and financial status, cannot escape a major share of responsibility. Our refusal to accept the implications of our creditor position and to adjust our tariff so as to permit the repayment of the obligations owed this country in the only way in which international payments can be made—in goods or services—was perhaps the most important factor in bringing about the world depression. Later, when we had had ample opportunity to realize the consequences of our mistake, we aggravated the difficulties of the debtor countries by a further increase in tariffs and by insisting on a literal fulfilment of the debt contracts. And finally, when other countries sought to maintain solvency through the imposition of new trade barriers and the depreciation of their currencies, we devaluated the dollar, thus creating a fresh dislocation in the world economic structure. Although a small nation with a relatively large foreign trade could alter the value of its currency without affecting world prices and thereby obtain the full effect of devaluation on its internal price level, it was evident that a change in the gold content of the currency of a country occupying as predominant a position in world trade as does the United States must react disastrously on the outside world. This has been confirmed by the fact that while American wholesale prices have advanced more than 15 per cent in the past year, there has been a further decline in prices in France, Italy, and the other so-called "gold" countries.

Apart from competitive currency depreciation, the chief barrier to the restoration of normal trade relations is the complete stagnation of international lending. Here the United States also must bear the brunt of the responsibility. Prior to the depression a large proportion of our export trade was financed, directly or indirectly, by foreign loans. The sudden curtailment of these loans, early in 1929, precipitated the deflationary process which led to the world crisis. With an overwhelming proportion of the world's stock of monetary gold in the hands of the United States and France, it is evident that there can be no large expansion of trade except on a credit basis. But here we confront serious difficulties. The huge losses suffered in recent years through bad investments have brought foreign loans into disrepute. And in general it must be admitted that the disinclination to resume foreign lending has a sound basis, for there is little evidence that the Administration's new tariff policy will result in concessions of sufficient magnitude to make the repayment of loans possible. Even where there is sentiment in favor of extending credit, as in the case of the Soviet Union, the Johnson Act prevents action from being taken.

Yet the fact remains that a resumption of foreign lending is even more imperative for a highly industrialized credi-

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tor than it is for debtor nations. Surpluses of goods and capital accumulate under a profit economy and must be disposed of if the domestic economic mechanism is to be kept functioning smoothly. For three years under President Hoover the United States ignored this basic principle with disastrous results. Vast potential purchasing power became "frozen" in banks because of lack of suitable investment opportunity. The present Administration has sought to remedy this defect through the stimulation of domestic buying power and by restricting the production of commodities which are normally exported, but it too has fallen afoul of the problem created by the inevitable surplus of capital. The national recovery program has dealt almost exclusively with internal questions. In so doing, however, it has failed to take into account the essential unity of the world economic structure, or the fact that this unity cannot be destroyed without a profound shock to the entire productive process which would involve a universal lowering of living standards.

This does not mean that the Administration has been unaware of the isolationist implications of America's financial and economic policy, or that it has deliberately sought to sabotage world recovery. Nowhere do we find a clearer statement of the dangers of nationalism or a more persuasive appeal for the restoration of the international market than that made by Secretary Wallace in "America Must Choose." But when it comes to taking a decisive step for the elimination of the cause of the basic disorder, which is bound up with our anachronistic commercial policy, this Administration, like those which preceded it, has fallen victim to the fallacies of economic nationalism. Today, confronted by declining indices of business activity, employment, and pay rolls, the only solutions suggested at Washington are further currency experimentation, restriction of production, or the abandonment of some forms of control. The vast potential buying power of the less-developed countries, opening up inexhaustible opportunities for production and expansion, has been almost entirely ignored. To meet this challenge something more fundamental than tariff bargaining is required: the United States must take the initiative in restoring the structure which it has been instrumental in destroying. It will be necessary for this country to go beyond any others in its concessions; it must buy before it can sell, and extend credit before it can collect old debts. Paradoxical though this may sound, it is the law of recovery.

[*This is the second of two articles by Mr. Stewart on economic recovery. The first appeared last week.*]

Social Security in a Hurry

By RAYMOND GRAM SWING

Washington, September 11

THE new program for social security is now under consideration by a special committee which will report to the President late in the autumn. Once the program is defined and the federal bills are drafted, there begins the strangest race against time in the history of social legislation.

Congress meets in January; in the same month begin the sessions of nearly all the State legislatures in America, some of them lasting only sixty days. Most of these legislatures will not meet again until 1937, after the next Presidential election. There can be no new insurance system in this country without the cooperation of the State legislatures if for no other reason than that the Democratic platform commits the President to "unemployment and old-age insurance under State laws." The federal bills will only lay the foundation of an insurance system, which must be built upon by the States themselves. If they are to do this before the President runs for office again, both houses of Congress and both houses of most State legislatures must finish their work within sixty days, Congress first passing the federal bills and the States then applying them locally.

The time element is forbidding. Actually the task is just barely possible. If the Administration can draft its bills by December, a conference of State delegates can be summoned to Washington. The State leaders then can go home in time to draft their own State legislation before their assemblies meet. This presupposes that the federal bills will not encounter much opposition in Congress and will not suffer much amendment, and that the State bills will also have a clear track. In other words, if the miracle is to be worked, it can be only with a fairly uncontroversial program. And if it is fairly uncontroversial, the social-insurance program of necessity will be limited. A full system, such as would round out the New Deal, would be as controversial as anything the President could think of.

The Committee on Social Security has not announced any of its decisions, and probably it has not reached many so far. The President gave it a hard task. It would have been enough to formulate a policy on social insurances. To this he has added the almost limitless word "security." Logically the committee might feel compelled to pronounce on the broadest of principles, on how industry might be reorganized and managed so as to reduce unemployment, on how all public works' expenditures could be timed and coordinated to take up the slack of cyclical depressions, or indeed on comprehensive national planning itself.

One needs only to think of the sixty days of 1935 to understand that the committee will do nothing grandiose. It may feel like writing a charter of security which this generation might live to see realized. But when it comes to actual proposals, the committee can do little more than suggest measures on which there already is a fair amount of agreement.

First of these is unemployment compensation; second is a system of old-age pensions. A start can be made toward a national system of these kinds of "insurance." There also might be federal grants to the States paying mothers' compensation, and some permanent relief for widows and children on the same basis. Health insurance probably will not be touched now. Although a strong element in the profession favors it, the American Medical Association is trying to prevent federal action, while the friends of health insurance have failed to make known their support. Even if health

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insurance cannot be on the legislative program for this year the President would be politically and socially wise to make clear at an early date that protection against the hazards of illness is still on the Administration's long-range program for economic security.

To say that there may be a start on unemployment compensation, old-age pensions, mothers' and widows' relief is to promise a great deal. But in fact it does not indicate much more progress than would have been possible a year ago. The Administration can probably find no better federal bill for unemployment compensation than a modification of the Wagner-Lewis bill, which was reported favorably in both houses of Congress last year and unanimously indorsed by representatives of forty-four States at a conference in Washington. This bill was drawn up with the cooperation of Miss Perkins, and at one time had the President's support. Had the President wished, it could now have been law, and the States would have had ample time to supply their organic contribution to it.

The President, however, changed his mind this spring and decided instead for the wider approach to the whole problem of security. The Wagner-Lewis bill did not come to a vote. In its place the President sent to Congress his message of June 8. "The various types of social insurance," he declared, "are interrelated, and I think it difficult to solve them piecemeal." But he mentioned in that message only two specific kinds of insurance, unemployment and old age, probably realizing he could not hope for more before the next Presidential election. Unemployment compensation he knew he could get on the general basis of the Wagner-Lewis bill. Old-age relief after a fashion could be had simply by making federal grants to States paying this type of relief.

No doubt it is better politics now to produce these two specific achievements as part of a great social effort for security than to have had precisely the same results as part of the grist ground in the vast mills of legislation last spring. But it is a gamble all the same. For the President could have rushed both measures through the last Congress, and now he may not be able to defeat the mere factor of time.

I do not say the President acted only for political reasons. The Wagner-Lewis bill provided for a 5 per cent levy on all pay rolls, and left it to the States to legislate as they chose as to the investment of funds, the division of contributions, and other essential details. Opposition to it was growing. The 5 per cent figure, however, could have been reduced. The new Wisconsin law taxes pay rolls only 2 per cent. But the focus of the opposition was over the question of how to invest unemployment reserves.

Quite fantastic arguments were put forward. It was assumed that the reserve funds would grow to an enormous volume, say a billion or more dollars. Then a depression might come and the securities would have to be sold to permit the payment of benefits. This would mean dumping a billion dollars or more of securities on the market. If the securities were industrial, industry would find itself sold out at bargain rates; if they were government bonds, government credit would suffer if the price of its bonds fell. Washington was so impressed by these arguments that the President may have thought it better to put off the discussion till later.

He must have come to the conclusion that the reserves of the fund should be invested by the federal government, for in his message of June 8 he announced that the federal government should have the responsibility "of investing, maintaining, and safeguarding the funds constituting the necessary insurance reserves." It is a simple solution. There is no major problem of investing the fund if it is done through the Federal Reserve system. Anyway, the idea that a billion dollars' worth of securities are going to be dumped on the market is to presuppose that the country is going to have a long period of utter prosperity followed by a depression as swift and destructive as a hurricane.

Anyone who expects a national unemployment-insurance scheme along British lines would be doomed to disappointment even if there were time to enact it and the President were not bound by his party platform. It is one of the consequences of the United States being a federation that a national scheme is out of the question. It runs at once into the constitutional veto. The only way to obtain insurance on a nation-wide basis is through the leadership of the President and Congress. But it is impossible for them to make the plan uniform in all parts of the country. The Wagner-Lewis bill was as adroit as a measure can be in preparing for a nation-wide scheme without violating State rights.

I shall be surprised if the committee is not concerned much more with clarifying the new conglomerate relief problem than with devising security for the whole population. This is an immediate and important task. Miss Perkins said last month that 16,000,000 persons were then dependent on the public for support. What number of these are the temporary victims of the depression, what number will be a fairly constant drain on public funds even if there is recovery? Relief now goes to them all in one form or another without distinction as to qualification. Some people are simply temporarily unemployed; some are mothers and children from families whose bread-winner has died. Some are old people who have not been able to lay up money for their last years. Some are young people unfitted to accept work but capable of doing so if trained. The rest are the more or less unemployable who will always be a care to the community. These recipients of relief should be classified. As much as possible of the stigma of relief should be lifted from assistance given widows and orphans and the aged. It should not be called relief to train young people for work. The unemployed should have compensation which is borne by industry as one of its normal costs.

The whole question of public aid will have a different appearance when these classifications are made. People may not realize that 40 per cent of the persons now receiving public assistance, or about 6,400,000, are under sixteen years of age, or that the great percentage of those over sixty-five, who number 6,500,000, are unable to support themselves. Most of these two groups are not victims of the depression at all. Much of what now passes for emergency relief must be permanent, should be accepted as such and be systematized, the States bearing their share and the federal government making grants on a standard basis.

This is security of a clearer kind for those already receiving help in a moderate way. But it leaves much to be desired for the 80 per cent of the community not in such need. The time is too short to think much of them and they will simply have to wait. If a start is made on unemployment compensation, it will probably go little farther than the Wisconsin law, a modest start indeed. For in Wisconsin the maximum benefit is $10 a week, and not more than $100

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can be drawn by a worker in any one year. Possibly the committee will have the courage to recommend a stronger system, but it is to be doubted, since there is no time for debate. Miss Perkins in her broadcast of August 12 threw cold water on any hopes for an extensive program. "There are great advantages," she said, "in a unified system of social insurance to be presented as a complete whole; but we cannot be unmindful that the net total income of our people is still at a very low point. It may be that we can go only part of the way at once."

The Wisconsin plan is not insurance at all, in the European understanding of the word. There are no contributions by employers, workers, and the State. The Wisconsin theory no doubt represents an advance on the European theory in that unemployment compensation is made a first charge on the industry itself. Management is thus given a pecuniary motive for not laying off its workers and is deterred from reckless over-expansion. And there is even less reason to collect contributions from workers for unemployment benefits than for compensation for injuries, which is generally accepted in America as a fair charge against industry. A worker may be partly responsible for his own injury, but he has no control whatever over his employment. It remains to be seen whether the federal plan will adopt this feature of the Wisconsin law or leave the States to apportion the cost of the benefits as they please. No federal contribution apparently is intended, and the President gives no hint of one. What he has decided is that the States must bear part of the cost of administering the scheme.

It is to be hoped that the committee will see to it that unemployment compensation is accompanied by a nation-wide extension of public employment offices. The two must be developed as organically related. Congress has already legalized the extension of public employment offices, but it appropriated only a fraction of the money needed to make them effective. Registration at a public employment office should be required of anyone collecting unemployment compensation. Only when this is the national practice will the country have an accurate chart of employment and unemployment.

The Committee on Economic Security has as its particular "brain truster" Edwin E. Witte, long in charge of the legislative reference library of Wisconsin, and a spiritual heir of John R. Commons. An abler and more sympathetic executive director could hardly have been chosen. He has had years of experience in the field of labor economics and in drafting legislation. Among the staff of advisers are Edgar Sydenstricker and Dr. Bryce Stewart of New York, and Mrs. Barbara Armstrong of the University of California.

But notwithstanding all this excellent administrative personnel, too much must not be expected. However great the wisdom and experience of the committee and its staff, it can do nothing to prolong the sixty days in which their schemes must be legislated. Only a start is going to be made. The temptation will be to hide the inevitable feebleness of the start by much high-sounding talk of an economic security which is not being achieved.

[*Mr. Swing's next weekly letter on developments in Washington will discuss the fall elections.*]

The Future of Hitler

By ROBERT DELL

Geneva, August 27

THE result of the German plebiscite on August 19 was undoubtedly an unpleasant surprise for the rulers of Germany. So confident was Goebbels that Hitler's poll would be even larger than it was in November that he committed himself to the statement that the loss of a single vote would have a deplorable effect abroad, where it would be interpreted as a sign that the Nazi regime was tottering. In fact Hitler lost 2,246,483 votes, and whereas in November he polled 94 per cent of the valid votes cast and 89.96 per cent of the electors on the register, his poll on August 19 was 90 per cent of the total valid votes and 84.36 per cent of the registered electors. This is a severe blow to Hitler's prestige abroad, already seriously impaired by the events of June 30 and the murder of Dollfuss.

As, however, the anonymous author of an extremely interesting article in the current issue of *Das Neue Tagebuch* remarks, it does not follow that there were really fewer votes for Hitler or more against him in August than in November. In neither case could the figures officially announced be any indication of the real feeling of the electors, for, apart from the terrorist conditions in which both plebiscites took place, it is safe to say that in neither case did the official figures represent the actual facts. It has naturally been asked why figures so damaging to Hitler's prestige as those of August 19 were announced—why three million votes were not simply subtracted from the *Nein's* and added to the *Ja's*. The author of the article in *Das Neue Tagebuch* gives, I believe, the correct answer to that question. It is as follows:

In Germany the votes are counted separately at each polling station and the result is publicly announced on the spot. The results of the polling stations in each town or district are added together, the addition of the totals thus obtained gives the result for each larger area, and finally the result for the whole country is arrived at. This system makes it necessary to fake the results at the polling stations. If the figures were falsified at a later stage, the falsification would be discovered, as the separate results of the polling stations are known. Last November instructions were given to the presiding officers at the polling stations, who were all members of the Nazi Party, not to return less than 90 per cent of *Ja* votes in any circumstances, and the instructions were universally followed, enthusiasm for Hitler being then at its height in the party. The result, as has been said, was that the *Ja's* were 94 per cent of the total valid votes. On August 19 the enthusiasm had cooled and there was no such general desire to obtain a favorable result. The consequence was that some of the presiding officers returned the results actually obtained at their respective polling stations instead of adapting them to the instructions given. Hence the apparent increase in the *Nein* votes and the blank or spoiled ballot papers, and the apparent decrease in Hitler's poll.

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The significance of the official result of August 19 is, then, that it revealed the existence in the Nazi Party of discontent and disaffection, which are probably not restricted to the party. It was indirectly an index of popular feeling, although it is impossible to say how the true result differed from the true result of November, for both are unknown.

There is no reason to believe that Hitler's position has been weakened by the result of the August plebiscite, unpleasant as it undoubtedly was to him. Friends of mine with a long experience of Germany think that the Hitler regime will not survive next winter. I wish that I could agree with them and I hope that they will prove to be right, but I cannot see any reason for so optimistic a forecast. The winter is likely to be a hard one for Germany and the food conditions may be near to famine, but the Germans will not revolt. They will submit to semi-starvation as tamely as they did during the war. And I am convinced that it is an illusion to count on the overthrow of Hitler by the Reichswehr, and a mistake to suppose that he is under the domination of the military command. Hitler and Blomberg are on excellent terms and why should they not be? Blomberg and the Reichswehr have all that they want. June 30 was a victory for the Reichswehr, but I do not believe for a moment that Hitler acted under pressure from Blomberg or the military authorities. Still less that he obeyed the ideas of Thyssen! He murdered Röhm because he thought him to be a dangerous rival and suppressed the SA because he believed it to be a menace to his own authority. As Vladimir d'Ormesson said the other day, Hitler needs the Reichswehr, but the Reichswehr needs Hitler just as much, if not more. Hitler is really, not merely nominally, the complete master of Germany and is still the demi-god of the great majority of the German people. He could still, I am inclined to think, kill Blomberg or Göring or Goebbels or all three of them without impairing his own authority.

Probably something will happen in consequence of the result of August 19, for Hitler needs to restore his damaged prestige. Further action against malcontents is possible. It might take the same form as on June 30 or might occur as a round-up and an addition to the inmates of concentration camps. There have been rumors of arrests this week; the German government admits arrests of Communists, but denies that any others have been arrested. "Communist" in Germany, however, is a convenient term which often means no more than an opponent of the government. What is certain is that since August 19 Hitler must be more anxious than ever to score a success in the Saar territory. After his defeat in Austria he cannot afford such a blow to his prestige as a rebuff in the Saar would be. For this reason the Nazis are redoubling their efforts to secure a large majority for Germany at the plebiscite on January 13. In spite of their prophecies that 99 per cent of the Saar electors will vote for reunion with Germany, the Nazis are uneasy, and the uneasiness was revealed in Hitler's speech at Coblenz yesterday. The remarkable counter-demonstration at Sulzbach in the Saar showed that they have reason to be uneasy. The demonstrators from the Saar at Coblenz had a pleasant excursion for almost nothing and put themselves in the good graces of the Nazi intimidators. The 60,000 or 70,000 inhabitants of the Saar who demonstrated at Sulzbach in favor of the maintenance of the status quo had no inducement to go there and took a great risk. They will be marked men.

The situation in the Saar is approximately more and more like that in Austria which culminated in the Nazi Putsch and the murder of Dollfuss. Unless the Council of the League of Nations, when it meets at Geneva ten days hence, provides Knox, the president of the Governing Commission, with the additional foreign police for which he has asked, there may be a Nazi Putsch in the Saar and Knox himself may share the fate of Dollfuss. Hitler is certainly prepared to resort to violence, if necessary, rather than lose the Saar. A Saar legion on the lines of the Austrian Nazi legion has been recruited in the Saar and is being trained in Germany to be ready for intervention—after the plebiscite, if the result is unfavorable to Germany, or before it, if at the last moment the result seems likely to be unfavorable. Hitler probably counts on the poltroonery of the British government and expects it to play the part of Pontius Pilate, as it did in the case of Austria. But as the Council of the League of Nations, of which the British government is a member, is directly responsible for the Saar, it would be more difficult for that government to hold aloof. The way to prevent German intervention in the Saar with all its possible consequences is to make it clear in advance that it will be resisted by force. Mussolini too is a danger to European peace, but it cannot be doubted that by moving Italian troops to the Brenner frontier he prevented German intervention in Austria, and for that he deserves our gratitude. The greatest danger to European peace is sentimental pacifism in England and France. We can escape from the necessity of using force sooner or later against Nazi Germany only in one way, namely, by convincing Hitler that we shall use it if necessary.

The Saar is at the moment the chief danger spot in Europe, but there are others. Europe is in a state of unrest arising out of conditions such as existed in 1914—conditions likely to lead almost automatically to war unless they are modified. An important factor in the unrest is Polish policy, which is as mischievous as it is unintelligible. Pilsudski and Beck are intriguing to keep Russia out of the League of Nations and to checkmate the proposed "eastern Locarno." Having failed in his attempt to induce the Baltic states to reject the eastern pact, Beck tried to induce Rumania to insist on being included in it, but failed again. For years Poland has been asking for an "eastern Locarno," and now that the Polish government is offered one, it objects to it. That is to say, it does not wish the present Polish frontiers to be guaranteed. There is only one possible explanation, namely, that the Polish government desires to extend those frontiers. Pilsudski and Beck object to being bound to respect the frontiers of Russia and the Baltic states, because they wish to be free to make an arrangement with Germany at the expense of Russia and the Baltic states. All the symptoms point to a secret understanding, if not an actual alliance, among Germany, Poland, and Japan, aimed against Russia. The active Ukrainian propaganda in Europe and the United States is subsidized by Germany and Japan. The stories of famine in the Russian Ukraine which have been appearing in the press of various countries—there was one in the London *Daily Express* recently—describe conditions that did exist in the Ukraine a year or more ago, but exist no longer. They are sometimes accompanied by obviously faked photographs. In the *Daily Express* there was a photograph alleged to represent a boy weeping beside the corpse of his father. One could see that the boy was not weeping and that

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the man lying on the ground was asleep, not dead. The agents of Germany and Japan have succeeded in enlisting episcopal sympathies, and the other day the Archbishop of Canterbury—who has pro-Nazi leanings—raised the Ukrainian question in the House of Lords.

Warsaw has become a center of Japanese propaganda under the direction of Ito, the Japanese Ambassador, whom we used to see at Geneva. He has been working with some success on the Polish Ukrainians, who are being persuaded to throw in their lot with the Russian Ukrainians to bring about a united and independent Ukraine. Apparently the Polish Ukrainians do not realize that they are being duped and that the ultimate aim of those who are manipulating them is to annex the whole of the Ukraine to Poland. The immediate aim is to stir up a rising in the Russian Ukraine which would be made the occasion of a White Russian invasion. The *Temps* is publishing an interesting series of articles by Henry Rollin on Germanophile intrigues throughout the world. The second of them, which appeared on August 23, dealt with the activities of the Russian fascist, Anastase Andreevitch Vonsiatzki, described as "the future Russian Hitler," who arrived at Dairen in June to organize the Russian refugees in Manchuria. He informed Reuter's correspondent at Dairen that he had the sum of fifty million dollars at his disposal and M. Rollin thinks that this is approximately true. Vonsiatzki appears to be in close touch with the German Nazis as well as with the dissident Russian Orthodox Church and its ecclesiastical head, the prelate Antoine. Vonsiatzki does not appear to have had the success that he expected in Manchuria, and M. Rollin thinks that his bellicose enthusiasm was discouraged by the Japanese, who, whatever their intentions may be, do not wish to have their hands forced by German agents or Russian fascists with axes of their own to grind. In any case Vonsiatzki returned to Europe on July 5 "to organize the Russian patriotic forces," and after a short stay in Paris visited Berlin, Dresden, Sofia, and Belgrade. His headquarters, according to M. Rollin, are at Putnam, Connecticut, where he publishes a paper called the *Fascist*.

If, as seems likely, the question of the admission of Russia into the League of Nations comes up at Geneva in September, the Poles will be forced to show their hand. The French government is pressing the Polish government to say definitely without further delay whether or not it is prepared to join in the eastern pact, and within the last week or so the *Temps* has published two leaders plainly hinting that the time has come for the Poles to decide on which side they are and that the Franco-Polish alliance cannot continue if the present Polish policy continues. That policy is so suicidal that it can be attributed only to crazy megalomania. The Poles owe their independence to the Russian Revolution, and if Germany and Japan succeeded in destroying Soviet Russia, Poland would be crushed between the Russian and German millstones.

Chicago Teachers Are Paid

By EDITH SMITH

Chicago, September 5

AFTER owing us money for four years, the school board has finally paid us up to date—fourteen checks, 75 per cent of a year's salary in one lump sum. The newspapers have been telling us how happy and excited we are. We are about to take belated vacations, they say, and indulge in an orgy of buying. The $22,500,000 is expected to turn over five or six times in a few weeks, making a whirlwind of prosperity for the city. The approval of the RFC loan by Jesse Jones two weeks ago was the signal for rejoicing, and two weeks' pay for spending money at Teachers' Jubilee Day at the World's Fair was handed out promptly.

I'm glad to get the money of course; but I'm not excited and there are things I won't forget easily. It will be a relief to pay my bills. For the first time in four painful years my mailbox will cease to be cluttered; I'll not be afraid to answer my doorbell any more; the hard-boiled collectors that have hunted me relentlessly will at last be appeased. It will be a queer sensation to have peace.

I'll get little more than that. When everything is paid I shall have $94 left—all I'll have to show for four years' work, supposedly at a good salary. This is how the checks will go: rent, $175 (five months); groceries, $165 (the grocer stopped my credit two years ago); clothing, $93; hardware, $305 (my father lost his job and moved to a farm—I helped him get started); university fee loan, $77; gas, electricity, and telephone, $52 (the utilities were generous with credit; I used candles only one night; a note that I was a teacher brought a man at once to reconnect the meter); loan from a friend, $100; loans from loan companies, $449 (at 3 per cent a month in advance).

I suppose I'm an ungrateful wretch to mention interest. The Board of Education saved more than $10,000,000 in interest through its forced loans from the teachers, while we had to borrow at rates sometimes as high as 42 per cent. There isn't even a suggestion of compensating us for this minor matter. No teacher took part in the plans for negotiating the loan, but rather such people as Willoughby Walling, head of the Personal Loan Company. We don't know whether more or less than a million dollars of the loan will come back to Mr. Walling, but we do know that most of the teachers we talk to have made salary assignments to him. Does he get interest? Only "legal" rates.

But don't misunderstand me; we were glad enough to get cash at any price during some of the long stretches. The Spanish teacher at my school had to sell her back salary last winter. She found a company on LaSalle Street—not Walling's but one similar—which offered her 50 per cent cash and 16 per cent more when the board paid up. She took it thankfully and was saved from a sanitarium.

Our dramatic coach had a beautiful home. We all used to love the place. She invited the children there for parties and special practice. It was there that our star orator received the finishing polish that made him West Side champion with his essay "Washington, the Statesman." After the mortgage foreclosure, the coach lived there for a while but

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she fell behind in the rent. The new owner refused tax warrants and salary assignments, so she moved into a small apartment. All the while the board owed her more than enough to have saved her home.

The civics teacher had his savings in Insull stocks. He turned sour at first, but learned the new philosophy that makes a virtue of spending instead of saving. Strangely enough he found necessities almost impossible to get with his kind of money, while luxuries at luxury prices were practically forced upon him. He drove up last April in a shiny new car. Unfortunately the automobile code had restricted the dealer to allowing only ninety cents on the dollar of teachers' salary assignments.

Our print-shop teacher had three sons at college. They had to leave last February and go to CCC camps. It was this man who spoke so vehemently for a strike of the teachers last spring. He said he was tired of being lady-like and respectful. But he couldn't win them over, although the strike sentiment was growing. In our school 80 per cent of the teachers voted to strike. One wonders how much longer this sort of thing could have gone on before revolt against pussyfoot, careful methods would have broken out. We would certainly have been called "radical agitators" but I cannot conceive of violence. Would any mother have sent her child to school under machine-gun fire?

I was much better off than some. I never went hungry as did those who depended for lunch upon big red apples from their pupils. There were many that lost their homes and some that lost their health. I lost only my insurance, my automobile, and my self-respect. I did lose one thing more, but that is not to be regretted—my faith in the status quo. Few of us are the sweet, complacent, non-thinking 100 percenters that we used to be. Our eyes have been opened and our opinion of Colonel McCormick, for instance, would make him blanch and call for the militia.

And I for one passed on what I learned to my pupils. They know that Rufus Dawes could borrow $90,000,000 from the RFC at a secret session and call teachers, unpaid for months, "trouble-makers." Those children marched through the Loop with us. "Is this a government of the people, by the politicians, for the bankers?" was on one of the placards they read. A little Dutch boy was pleased as punch when the bystanders laughed at his sign reading, "Things are going from bad to Wirt," and on the other side, "Oh, the Horner of it all." When we turned into LaSalle Street one boy asked, "Is this where all them chiselers hang out? Say the word. I'll go git 'em!" I can vouch that forty-eight youngsters know who their State senator is, and that they know he was "home sick" when school bills were up for voting at Springfield. They have heard some remarks about the present Chicago city administration that would burn the ears of our dignitaries. They are doing some thinking of their own about profit versus service and "wider distribution of the nation's wealth."

Harry rushed in breathless one morning. "Me and Melvin was having an argument," he said. "Say, *was* ever any big fortune made by not stealing? Don't you have to graft to get in the big time?"

Four years ago there would hardly have been any question in my mind concerning the propriety of platitudinous replies about honesty being the best policy and the value of hard work and early rising to gain success. But now I have seen the Board of Education in action. I have seen its members—coal merchants and real-estate dealers—bending school policies to their own profit. I have seen the instructions of the United States Chamber of Commerce to reduce educational appropriations wherever possible. I have heard myself called "red" for daring to believe I had earned my salary and was entitled to it. I have seen the State legislature haggle with less dignity than my pupils over our destinies and unashamedly flaunt their fears of losing patronage by performing acts of simple justice. I couldn't answer that boy honestly and patriotically at the same time.

A prize bit comes out in the negotiations for the loan. The First National Bank, which stands on school property, has been made trustee to collect rents. We trust Edward Eagle Brown, the president, will be diligent when he collects rent from himself. We know from the unflinching way in which he opposed loans to pay us that he is a shrewd and hard-working business man. The rent from $37,000,000 worth of property amounts to only $800,000 annually. Not even enough to pay the interest on the $22,500,000 mortgage at 4½ per cent. A ninety-nine-year lease with no revaluation clause is held by the Chicago *Tribune* on part of this property. Here is perhaps one explanation for the bitterness of the attacks on education by this loudest shouter for economy in public service and advocate of tuition high schools.

Mayor Kelly has assured us there will be no further cuts, but there is an ominous sound to his statement that the present economy measures will suffice to pay off the loan. Is the 25 per cent cut in salaries to remain in force, then, until the loan is paid twenty years hence? Are we to have no junior high schools all these years? Will there be no additions to the staff regardless of the expected growth in school population?

I am being ungrateful again. "You got your money. Ain't you satisfied?"

It is a little sickening to watch the scramble to take credit for getting the RFC loan. Hearst claims it in full, of course. He mixed up red-baiting with demands for our back pay, and wants us to take loyalty oaths. If it comes to that or losing my job, I shall sign with Jackson's "as I understand it" and immediately take out a membership in the Civil Liberties Union.

Some of us refuse to give credit to anyone for getting the loan and believe that our own efforts—our thousands of letters, telegrams, and postal cards to President Roosevelt did more than anything else. Certainly the bankers who now engineer the whole business have done their utmost to prevent the loan all these years.

We have our money. But that does not solve Chicago's educational problem. It does not restore to the children the important school services they have lost by the curtailments imposed by our banker friends. It does not add one cent to future school budgets, nor does it safeguard the schools from political domination.

Most important of all is the fact that the payment of this money does not restore the morale of the teachers. After four years of learning that bankers are our worst enemies, that politicians are interested in votes and power only and use the city's children merely as pawns in their own selfish game, that we can depend on no one but ourselves, we cannot be restored to our previous complacency by one pay day.

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In the Driftway

NOT being a gentleman—at least by the Wildean definition—the Drifter is never rude except by inadvertence. That is the reason, perhaps, why examples of deliberate, unprovoked insults have for him a horrid fascination. He blushes for the perpetrator even more than for the victim, and he is proud to say that he has never been able to understand fully the motive behind some of the classical specimens of which he has made a collection.

* * * * *

THESE reflections are occasioned by an anecdote in Berton Braley's recently published autobiography, "Pegasus Pulls a Hack"; but before the Drifter retells it he would like to explain that he is no nice-nellie and that he has nothing against insults which have the excuse either of provocation or, lacking that, of wit. If, for example, Charlie Chaplin really replied to Elinor Glyn's "You don't look as funny as I expected" with a "Neither do you," then the Drifter can only envy him. If, following the same model, Michael Arlen really came back at a certain lady novelist who told him that he looked almost like a woman with "I might say the same for you," then he also might be granted the double justification of provocation and wit. Some excuse might even be found for W. S. Gilbert on that occasion when he said to the editor of *Punch* that the latter must receive a good many amusing manuscripts, and then, when he got a modestly affirmative answer, came out with the devastating question, "Why don't you publish some of them?" But the choicest—because the most incomprehensible—examples are those in which someone with an established position goes out of his way to be solemnly rude to a well-meaning and deferential inferior. Mr. Braley's contribution belongs in this class.

* * * * *

IT seems that he was editing an anthology of poetry and wrote to William Watson offering to pay for the privilege of including two of that author's poems; he left the selection to Watson but expressed the hope that he would see fit to choose the "Woman with a Serpent's Tongue" as one of the two. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Braley addressed the knighted bard as William Watson, Esq. In reply he received a third-person note—refusing permission—which read in part as follows: "Mr. Braley's letter addressed to William Watson, Esq., and beginning 'My dear Mr. Watson' has been received by Sir William Watson. . . . Neither could he on any terms whatsoever allow in any anthology the inclusion of a poem as relatively insignificant as 'Woman with a Serpent's Tongue'—a thing which nobody *outside America* would dream of regarding as one of its author's notable poems."

* * * * *

TO the Drifter it seems that only one explanation is possible. Sir William must have been endeavoring to soothe a wound received upon some previous occasion and to relieve his feelings by the process known as kicking the cat. One can only wonder what baron, or duke, or prince had recently given him to understand that a mere honorary baronet was very small potatoes indeed. One is further obliged, however, to wonder that even a baronet could have found much satisfaction in retaliating upon an unknown and unpretentious individual. The Drifter believes that the only person who can stand upon the dignity of rank with real dignity is the person whose rank is supreme and who is therefore removed from all possibility of being himself snubbed. That is the reason he has a real admiration for the remark said to have been made in icy tones by Louis XIV to a courtier who was no more than just on time for an appointment. "J'ai failli attendre," said the king—which may be very roughly translated as "I very nearly waited."

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Saving the Constitution

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

On August 17 Homer S. Cummings, Attorney-General of the United States, in an address before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco—incidentally the same organization before which Mr. Villard delivered an address a short time ago—took occasion to congratulate San Francisco on the promptness and thoroughness with which it met and defeated the recent attempts to subvert the American Constitution. Mr. Cummings was very positive in both the wording and tone of his congratulation. Before proceeding with an exposé of racketeering and gangsterism, which apparently, in his estimation, is the most serious problem confronting America today, he said: "The efficiency and promptness with which you met the recent crisis is positive proof that the spirit of America in San Francisco is still that of the founders of the Republic."

Mr. Cummings was not specific as to what groups were imbued with such 100 per cent Americanism, but he left little doubt in the minds of his hearers about whom he was referring to. He meant the police, the National Guard, the bands of armed vigilantes, the American Legion, the *Examiner,* the *Chronicle,* the *Call-Bulletin,* the Scripps-Howard *News,* Mayor Rossi, and Governor Merriam. The prompt action was no doubt the imprisonment, contrary to law, of hundreds of persons in San Francisco and thousands throughout the State, the destruction of property owned by workers' cooperatives, the invasion and violation of private homes by armed bands of thugs assisted by police, the destruction of non-orthodox newspaper establishments, and the exile of hundreds from their homes.

Might this not be construed as a strange attitude for one whose official duties are presumably the prosecution of those who violate the laws enacted under, and for the protection of, the Constitution?

Oakland, Cal., August 25 R. A. EMBERG

From a Real American Citizen

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Your articles and editorials on the subject of the recent strikes of the longshoremen's and seamen's unions in San Francisco show your consistent red or Communist bias. This bias is consonant with the red intolerance of all other social and political ideas, and the narrow, single-track mind of all Communists. Dominated by the small-bore twenty-two-caliber minds

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of Bridges in San Francisco and de Jong in Portland (both red aliens), no approach to a settlement by arbitration was possible, because these men wanted violence and so-called martyrs, not peaceful settlement.

Every one of the unions involved was dominated by a small minority of red Communists, the type that bores from within like a loathsome worm boring into a healthy apple leaving a trail of slime, destruction, and rottenness. These red minorities, the kind you support editorially, wanted trouble and destruction, they incited violence and murder, and they fomented and directed a deliberate attack against our government.

But these same reds can't take it. How they did yelp and yowl when the real American citizens made effective reprisals by way of raids on their nests and hideouts in Portland, San Francisco, and San José! I say more power to these 1934 American vigilantes in giving the reds a dose of their own medicine, to wit, direct action.

For your information, the red element in every port betrayed and defeated the purposes of the American unions and set back their progress at least ten years. Until the American Federation of Labor has thoroughly purged its membership of the traitorous Communists on its rolls it will never accomplish its constructive purpose. The sooner Secretary of Labor Perkins and the President take definite action toward the elimination and deportation of subversive reds, the sooner will the country be rid of strikes, the true deterrent of recovery.

I affirm that real American citizens can solve their problems in their own way without the annoyance of these pestiferous ranting Communists and their mouthings of intolerance, hatred, and destruction to our form of government, our freedom of speech, press, radio, politics, and personal action, and our sane and high standard of living.

Portland, Ore., August 16 V. W. Cather

A Reply to Mr. Kravif

To the Editors of The Nation:

Since Mr. Hy Kravif questions both facts and implicit attitudes in my review of "Women Who Work," by Grace Hutchins, I wish to point out briefly my position.

My facts on the Massachusetts situations discussed came directly from Commissioner Edwin S. Smith himself, whom both Mr. Kravif and Miss Hutchins quote. They were sent me under date of April 23, 1934, in a letter replying to my request for his comments on the pertinent quotations, copied verbatim from Miss Hutchins's pages.

Insistence that the period—and conditions too, Mr. Kravif—of a "suspension" are important elements of any fair presentation of it seems to me far more than mere quibbling. In the case under discussion the facts that the night law was suspended only for the life of the Recovery Act and then was hedged about by various restrictive regulations show an intent to experiment with substituting national code standards for State legal ones rather than the sheer attack on labor which the tenor of Miss Hutchins's argument, a few invidious quotation marks, and the omission of these qualifications make it appear.

Judgment upon such a suspension is an issue entirely distinct from fair presentation of it. Since Mr. Kravif attempts to formulate my attitude by implication, may I say that I, among many other Massachusetts citizens, greatly regretted suspension of the night law. My own regret arose more from an unwillingness to see labor forfeit any degree of sure protection for something still uncertain in results than from a conviction that State legal standards offer a fully satisfactory answer to any labor need in our nation-wide industry.

Sharon, Mass., August 22 Sylvia Kopald Selekman

Wanted: A Driver

To the Editors of The Nation:

A small party, of which I am a member, plans to leave New York about September 17, speaking at meetings through the Middle West on Upton Sinclair's EPIC plan. We need a driver, with or without a car of his own, who is interested in this plan and can pay his own share of the expenses. Will anyone who is interested get in touch with me at 7 Livingston Place, New York City?

New York, September 10 John J. Klaber

Contributors to This Issue

Robert Dell is the Geneva correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian.*

Edith Smith is the pseudonym of a Chicago school teacher.

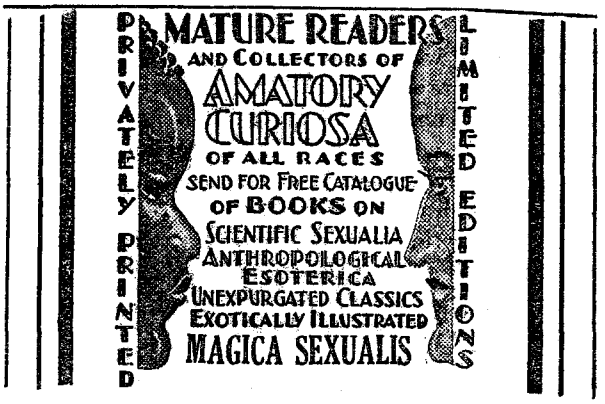
H. L. Mencken, formerly the editor of the *American Mercury,* is working on a revised edition of his well-known book "The American Language."

Philip Blair Rice has contributed reviews and critical articles to *The Nation* and the *Symposium.*

Agnes Smedley is the author of "Chinese Destinies" and "China's Red Army Marches."

Eliseo Vivas is a member of the department of philosophy of the University of Wisconsin.

RACIAL ARTS OF LOVE



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Labor and Industry

Textiles: an NRA Strike

By MARGARET MARSHALL

Pawtucket, Rhode Island, September 7

AT this moment the textile industry is thoroughly crippled by one of the dozen largest strikes in American history. (Even George A. Sloan has practically closed down.) With 364,000 of their workers on strike, the employers who were so truculent a week ago show at least a disposition to mediate. If the strike can be settled quickly, the workers may gain much—providing their leaders take full advantage of the strength behind them. If the strike is prolonged, it may be lost in the violence for which the armed forces of the textile States are preparing at the behest of mill-owners, and the mill towns will be bathed in the blood of Americans who are asking for the munificent income of $12 and $13 a week. In the South, whose sweated textile labor forced the strike upon the national leadership of the United Textile Workers, violence has already begun. Here in New England, where the strike is to a great extent a sympathetic movement, no serious incidents have occurred. There have been a few brushes between pickets and police but the violence of these affairs has appeared mostly in the newspaper stories sent out by harried reporters whose employers have a vested interest in violence.

Rhode Island for the past forty-eight hours has been the crucial district in the New England section, with all activities centering in the U. T. W. headquarters in Pawtucket. The reason lies in the fact that of Rhode Island's 50,000 textile workers in silk, wool, and cotton, only about 10 per cent are organized. Practically every mill must be picketed. At union headquarters it is impossible to have a connected talk with any strike leader, or for that matter with any of the hundreds of strikers who mill between the two floors on which the U. T. W. operates. Upstairs, meetings are continually in progress: weavers at ten o'clock; spinners and doffers at eleven; and so on. Picket lines go out with instructions to close this or that plant. Downstairs telephones ring with reports of mills closed either because the management, in unctuous tones, "wishes to protect its employees from the violence of pickets" or because the workers have walked out. Mill after mill has fallen until today 30,000 of Rhode Island's 50,000 textile workers are out. Applications for membership are pouring in—though the union undoubtedly exaggerates their number.

One of Pawtucket's big moments came yesterday when the J. and P. Coats plant, with 3,000 workers, ceased operations until, as the management said, local, State, or federal authorities could guarantee to workers protection from intimidation by "lawless gangs." The J. and P. Coats Company, British owned, has a world monopoly of thread. No labor union, I was told, either in Great Britain or elsewhere, has ever been able to gain a foothold in its plants. Its subsidiary, the American Thread at Willimantic, Connecticut, has not closed down. There the town is dominated by the company. Union pressure will be resisted to the last ditch with armed force which has already been mobilized, and violence may easily result.

Flying Squadron

When the Coats announcement was made, I was in Bristol, Rhode Island, with a flying squadron from Pawtucket headquarters. Thirty-six cars carrying some 150 pickets had started from Pawtucket in mid-morning to close up several plants. The first stop was at Warren, where early that day a squadron from New Bedford, 200 strong and led by Marianno Bishop, had had a brush with the police while picketing the King Philip mill. One push led to another, spectators gathered, State troopers were called, a tear-gas bomb was thrown, and a "battle" blossomed in the Boston *Traveler*. The Pawtucket squadron closed two small mills in Warren, including the Narrow Fabrics Company owned by Philips and Jones of New York City and devoted to the manufacture of Van Husen collars. (A lot of famous brands are on strike this week.) At this mill when the lunch hour came State troopers made a dramatic entry—good-looking youngsters in nifty new uniforms, a knapsack of tear-gas bombs slung over the shoulder, a club in hand, and formidable steel helmets to protect their precious heads from the most peaceful-looking group of workers that ever walked a picket line. They pushed back the yielding crowd. Meanwhile inside the plant a vote was being taken, and a few minutes later Van Husen collars went out of production at Warren, Rhode Island.

In Bristol the squadron was up against a set-up analogous to the company town, and here for the time at least it failed. Bristol is famous for the pleasure craft it builds for the rich. The Rainbow was constructed here—is here now for final conditioning before the great race. The streets of the old town are lined with fine colonial houses. Famous pleasure resorts—Prudence and Hog islands—are within ferrying distance of its peaceful port. Along the water's edge is the Collins and Aikman woolen and worsted plant, which had formerly been the Cranston Worsted Mills and had belonged to one of Bristol's most prominent families, the Rockwells. I learned about Bristol from a lunchroom proprietor on the waterfront. The "old man" took good care of his employees. He encouraged them to bring their complaints to him. Now it is only Plant H of a big New York corporation, but it is managed by the "old man's" son, Charles B. Rockwell, Jr., who carries on his father's policies. About 800 are employed in three shifts. Their wages are said to be above the code level and there has never been a strike. This summer the mill, which makes upholstery, has been closed almost all summer—until last week. An order from General Motors was canceled in June because of the automobile strike. That order has just come through again and the mill has work to keep it busy until March. The workers don't want to strike. The townspeople, including the lunchroom proprietor, don't want them to strike. Before the shut-down, he told me, he could take in as much as $70 or $80 a day. All summer it has been $20 or less.

At about two o'clock the pickets begin marching, 150 strong. The next shift of workers will come on at three,

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and there are all the elements for a riot. Charles B. Rockwell, Jr., stands in front of his mill and the press gathers round. Mr. Rockwell is in his late forties perhaps, slender, mild-looking, and frankly scared. His hands tremble and his eyes shift nervously. He won't make statements. In the side streets townspeople gather. There are rumors that the outsiders will be driven away. Behind the plant is an armory where a detachment of the militia is quartered. Again and again the word goes round that they are eager to be called out. A few genial cops watch the picket line as it marches past the plant, crosses the street, and walks down the other side. A tabloid reporter kids a pretty blond picket. She smiles. The picket behind her doesn't. "There's nothing funny about this, you know," he mutters as he walks past. The tabloid reporter is humorous, cocky, well-fed, aching for news. He stalks up and down the street. He declaims melodramatically, "I hate peace." He is only half humorous.

As three o'clock approaches, the tension grows. A car drives up and the mayor goes into a huddle inside the mill with the chief of police and Mr. Rockwell. He comes out and drives away. No statement. Mr. Rockwell comes out again and is visibly more at ease. Minutes pass. Just before the change of shifts, a siren shrieks and three or four cars full of State troopers tear at high speed into the street, clubs, tear-gas, and all. They clear the side streets of spectators. The pickets march past the mill and down the street. But they do not come back up the other side. Very efficient, these State cops. They are breaking the law, of course, as well as the picket line, for picketing is legal. Soon the word drifts back. The pickets have been told that the local authorities have the right to decide how many pickets are allowed. The local authorities—including Mr. Rockwell?—have decided that four are enough. The pickets refuse the offer and decide to go back to headquarters for instructions. If, instead, they had insisted on their legal rights, blood—their blood—might easily have flowed at Bristol. As we leave the scene, a news photographer comes along in a state of outrage. One of the tabloid reporters—the tall bespectacled one who looks like a Harvard graduate—has phoned his paper that the crowd was "routed" by State police with tear-gas bombs in their hand. "And now," said the photographer, "my paper will expect me to send a picture of it!"

Intimidation

On the basis of such scenes as occurred at Warren and Bristol the cry of intimidation is going up today from New England mill-owners and the press. The Coats statement was typical. The systematic spreading of this propaganda is marked by the same efficiency with which the mill-owners are arming their plants with special deputies and machine-guns. At Dighton, Massachusetts, which is in the worst sense a company town completely dominated by the Mt. Hope Finishing Plant, the streets are barricaded with sandbags, and 125 armed guards have been imported to resist attack. At least one newspaper reporter was not allowed to enter the town. Presumably the employees are glad to be thus "protected" from intimidating pickets who at the worst carry a few rocks. There is no doubt that in some plants the workers were afraid. At Warren anxious faces peered through the factory windows. But the only force visible was in the hands of the police.

It is also true that a great many strikers, particularly middle-aged workers with families, did not want to strike. At a Fall River lunch counter the pretty waitress told me her father and sister had gone on strike against their will although they belonged to the union (there were seven children to be supported). But when I asked if they were on the picket line she revealed one kind of intimidation practiced by employers. They were staying at home, she said, because the foremen watch the picket lines, and active strikers soon lose their jobs when the mills reopen, even in Fall River, which is a strong union town. The so-called "loyal" workers who have stayed in or come out only unwillingly are not moved by love for their employers. The phrase itself is a piece of propaganda; loyalty is not bought with $10 a week. These "loyal" workers are motivated rather by the fear of losing what jobs they have after years of depression and part-time employment. The wonder is that so many have come out, even though wages are bad and the stretch-out intolerable. The secret seems to lie in the faith these workers have in President Roosevelt and Section 7-a. The A. F. of L. leadership has deliberately encouraged and relied upon that faith. A weaver in New Bedford referred to the depression as if it had ended when the New Deal began, and he really believed it. An old man in Pawtucket headquarters said when the mediating board was appointed on Wednesday: "Just think of a millionaire doing that for working people. Everybody ought to get down on their knees and thank God for President Roosevelt." He seemed to see no inconsistency in the fact that he himself had been out of a job for five years, both Old and New Deal, but there are few workers who will fail to understand if their strike ends in a sell-out in any way comparable to the one which ended the automobile strike.

New Bedford and Fall River

In New Bedford, which is shut up tight, the strike has settled down into an organization drive among the 10,000 workers (out of 22,000) who are not in the union. The town is quiet and good-natured. At Communist "headquarters," a poor little shack in the south end, the door was locked when I called. The Communists apparently have no show in this strike. At least in New England this is an NRA strike. President Roosevelt, more than one worker told me, will not recognize Communist unions. This is practically true, if not strictly legal—the A. F. of L. unionist is always practical. The Communists in New Bedford are reduced to asking admission to the U. T. W. locals. Their plea is that they are good scrappers. It is probably the worst plea they could make. From my observation the U. T. W. does not want Communist "scrappers" in this strike—which to newspapermen is too respectable even to be good copy. Meanwhile the police of New Bedford wait in vain for a request from the union to drive Ann Burlak, the Communist "flame," out of town. She has already been barred from Fall River. The request has not come. The leaders in New Bedford are an enlightened group—many of them are Socialists. They are obviously not worried by Ann Burlak's popularity. Probably some of them agree with her. At any rate they seem to realize that driving her out of town would not advance their cause. And besides they all like "Annie." Everybody I talked to likes "Annie." Her ideas are "wrong" but they like her nerve and "she's a wonderful talker."

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WHITTLESEY HOUSE
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Fall River was like a deserted village when I arrived there in a heavy rain. Like New Bedford it is closed down tight. The U. T. W. claims some 12,000 members among the 25,000 on strike. The American Federation of Textile Operatives, a rival union which antedates the U. T. W. in the town and was once very strong, claims 7,000 members and credits the U. T. W. with 1,000. I interviewed the A. F. T. O. in its musty headquarters. All the windows were closed. The man I talked with was as suspicious as a Rhode Island police captain. When he became convinced that I was not a U. T. W. spy, he assured me that his organization was dominant; he said the city was full of Communists; he said the 5,000 people in the strike parade of the night before were not strikers; he criticized Governor Ely for not calling out the troops. He failed to explain why, if the A. F. T. O. was dominant, it had ever allowed the strike to be called in Fall River. He said the A. F. T. O. was about to issue a statement that would be a bombshell. He did say that the A. F. of L. organization wanted to be recognized as the government union and implied that this strike was merely another attempt in that direction. This touch of realism would indicate that at some time a window had been left open.

The Issues

This strike was forced by the South, but the New England worker is not exactly prosperous. Today I saw the pay envelopes of seven weavers in a cotton mill who as skilled workers should be earning $25 a week for forty hours. For thirty hours' work they averaged $10 a week (under the 25 per cent curtailment thirty hours is the usual work week at present). For forty hours they would receive about $13, or the unskilled minimum. A highly skilled fine-goods weaver in New Bedford who just after the war earned as much as $60 running three very complicated looms is drawing about $15 today (the last pay day)—a week's wages for the same kind of weaving. He works fewer hours but he is running four looms instead of three. He would have earned a few dollars more but one of his looms was out of operation for two days through no fault of his own—and weavers are paid by the piece. The union contends that in general forty hours' work is being done in thirty. They also say that in most mills no allowance is made for time lost when an operator gets bad material which slows him down, although it probably means harder work for him during that time. The humane machine load differs greatly according to the type of looms involved. In New Bedford a worker cited a case in which as many as forty-eight looms were run by one weaver when the humane load would be twelve. Not only was the worker subjected to the stretch-out but he was keeping three other workers idle. In Fall River, according to Marianno Bishop of the U. T. W., the workers had succeeded in establishing a fairly set scale of wages averaging $13 a week for unskilled; $17 and $18 for semi-skilled; $22 to $25 for skilled workers such as weavers; and $35 to $45 for the highly skilled—the loom-fixers who are the key workers in the textile industry and whose decision to strike made inevitable the closing down of other departments.

Rhode Island Police Captain

Suspicion is rife in Rhode Island. It can be seen at its worst in the police stations of Providence. When I paused—in a New York car—before a mill which I had been told

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was to be picketed, I was rushed to a police station by an officer who thought he had found something important. I was held for two hours and "grilled"; and I was allowed to depart only when the captain became convinced that *The Nation* was not a Communist paper. I was informed incidentally that there was no strike in Providence. But although I was acquitted as a Communist I set the captain by his ears in another way. Apparently, in all his reading, he had never come across the phenomenon of a woman who kept her own name, though married. When the matter came up through a series of questions, I assured him that it was legal in New York and that even the federal government accepted my income tax, but he was deeply shocked and refused to be comforted. It will give him something to think about after the revolution which he obviously expects at any moment.

The Great American Myth

But even a Rhode Island police captain can sleep secure so far as the textile strike in New England is concerned. It can be confidently said that there is no revolutionary idea behind this strike. There is hardly any idea aside from the immediate ones of higher wages and better working conditions and, for the leadership, increased prestige with the government. Here lies the reason perhaps why the meetings I attended were pretty uninspiring and why Ann Burlak is so popular (though her ideas are so "wrong"). There is little passion in Pawtucket. The leaders I have seen are hard-boiled and practical and very sure of themselves. They are militant, but it is the militance to be found, say, in a sales organization. They will never be put in jail or executed as visionaries. Labor leadership is their business and they are putting over a campaign—I mean a strike. It would be unrealistic of course to complain because the Great American Myth, the success story—from log cabin to the White House, from puddler to Senator, from mill worker to fourth vice-president—dominates the average union leader, as it dominates, although with decreasing force, the average American. It is quite likely that the present impressive show of strength on the part of the U. T. W. will win labor a place on the code authority, and the textile workers may derive some tangible good.

The membership of course admits of no generalization. There are probably thousands of mill workers, old and young, who see no farther ahead than pay day. There are many Socialists in their ranks. There are undoubtedly some Communists. A weaver I talked to in New Bedford belonged to the Spiritualist Church and the Republican Party. Another blamed the stretch-out on the Portuguese.

This is a 100 per cent American strike—an eminently respectable strike. If the workers lose they will have everybody to blame but themselves.

NEXT WEEK IN *THE NATION*

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THE MAN who wrote this book is no longer living. He was a Hungarian who, caught in France on his vacation in August 1914, spent the four years of the war in French internment prisons. This is his story, and it is comparable to any of the great memoirs of captivity. A reference to THE ENORMOUS ROOM is obvious, but it is chiefly useful here to point out how different are the two books in mood and content. The supreme hardships suffered by Kuncz and his fellow prisoners are recorded, not with anger and bitterness, but with amazing detachment and sympathy. It was not written primarily as an indictment of war, but as a psychological study of humanity struggling, in the face of enormous odds, with bestiality A description of the book's quality and power is impossible. To realize it, one must read passage after passage of its weirdly beautiful prose, quote incident after incident; of the two boys who read Karl Marx to the very moment of their death; of the banquet at which a man dressed as a woman and received the court and homage of the prisoners; of the gruesome dancing school; of the influenza epidemic which was probably worse than anything that happened in the trenches; of the night that Kuncz knew he was losing his reason; of the abyss of madness into which many prisoners sank, never to be recovered; of the dog Lolo for whom the men would have mutinied against the Administrator It is a book which mingles beauty with horror so strangely and movingly that it somehow raises the stature of man.

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Books, Drama, Films

Henry W. Nevinson, Adventurer

In the Dark Backward. By Henry W. Nevinson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

NO book from Henry W. Nevinson's pen can be else than beautifully written and of compelling interest. This one is the most original of his works. Although he has written his remarkable autobiography—one of the best ever penned—in three volumes, he still harks back to his own adventures and still further into the "dark backward" of historic events. In that sense he claims to have led a double life; he has been amazingly of the present, having witnessed almost every war since 1879, and yet his mind and imagination have constantly carried him into events of the past with such power that he has relived them. Usually the vision has come when he was in the midst of some poignant or desperate adventure, as in the Gallipoli campaign when, staying on the tragic ship River Clyde still aground off the bloody V Beach, he beheld the fall of Troy and the fate of the captives, or when he views the scene of some great event. Not only does his imagination lend itself to the dramatic and he himself reproduce the dramas with faithful imagery; he writes with an amazing classical knowledge, with a scholarly and historical background of extraordinary dimensions when one considers how much of his life has been spent in camp and on battlefields or ranging over Africa in the most gallant of slave-freeing expeditions.

Romantic Nevinson always is, but there is no covering up of the horrible side of war in order to give romance full play. In that very essay on the fall of Troy we visualize in fullest degree the horrors that followed the success of the wooden horse:

> Men who had stood the ten years' siege fell in blood beside their beds, their limbs hewn off by Greeks who gave no quarter. Wives, mothers, girls ran naked and shrieking down every familiar lane, not knowing where to turn. . . . Refuge in the temples was no help. From the very altars they were dragged by the hair for ravishment or death.

But with the stark horrors of war he links descriptions of exquisite peace and, too occasionally, there crops out the Nevinson humor that all readers of his works have come to value. Of this the best example is his suggestion as to what might have been done when the principality of Albania was constituted:

> They [the Albanians] hoped that George V would send a prince to govern them, and I thought at the time how wise England would have been to have given them Edith Durham as Kralitza, with two million pounds and me as her Grand Vizier. We should have ridden on white horses all through the country proclaiming the new Queen. We could not have made a stupider mess of it all than the Prince of Wied, who was soon after appointed Mpret. But the Albanians told us they insisted on "Blood Royal," which neither Edith Durham nor I could claim.

But in that jesting lies an earnest truth; if ever a throne was to be bestowed for merit and service and knowledge of the people, that one should have gone to Edith Durham.

Especially does Nevinson illuminate Xenophon's March of the Ten Thousand—in a way to make many a reader to whom the "Anabasis" was day-by-day drudgery wish to reread it. The battle of Actium, the tragedy at Calvary, the battle of Agincourt, the advance and retreat of Bonnie Prince Charlie and his Highlanders, the battle of Jena, all these and a dozen other great events are portrayed with a vividness and charm that make one wish Nevinson had been ever and wholly the historian to give warmth and vitality and life to many another drama of the dim past now ruined in the telling.

Whenever possible he finds his point of departure in some connection of the scene with himself; in the case of Prince Charlie he can go back to a highwayman ancestor of his own, John Nevinson, who was duly executed "in York, where in the museum his iron fetters may be seen to this day." This technique is a most grateful change from the usual dream through which the story-teller re-creates the past.

But this relative of a long-successful masked-man-of-the-heath is really an effeminate soul; though he has seen perhaps more blood spilt and more precious lives taken than any other living man, his hands remain unstained, his idealism untarnished, and at seventy-six he still writes with a touch of youth, the spirit of high adventure, fortified by knowledge out of books and out of the experiences of three score years and ten of conscious existence.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Aids to Verisimilitude

A Thesaurus of Slang. Compiled and arranged by Howard N. Rose. The Macmillan Company. $1.75.

MR. ROSE'S purpose is the philanthropic one of helping pulp fictioneers in distress. Let us suppose that a member of the craft is sitting in his dismal garret, struggling bitterly with a tale of crime. He knows that there is a ready market for such goods, and he has lifted a swell plot from the tabloids, but unfortunately he is not acquainted with any criminals and is thus somewhat shaky about the terminology of their mystery. What do such persons call the kind of green ink with which they write letters to the lawyers of kidnapped brewers? How do they phrase it when they want to say that it is a fine day? What is their name for a cop who has been held up in a dark alley, stripped of his clothing and accoutrements, and turned loose stark naked? How do they say hemorrhage? Asphyxia? Rigor mortis?

Here is where Mr. Rose's book comes in. Let the baffled author turn to the sub-section headed Underworld in the section headed Detective, and he will find quick answers to all such questions. Every act or idea in the repertory of felony is listed alphabetically in plain English, and appended to each is the technical term for it. Thus one finds that a prosecuting attorney is a cutter, that a safe with a time-lock is a timer, and that to play cards is to rumble the flats. And thus one finds that a "key made from an original for illegitimate use" is a double, and that an "inhabited apartment which is the object of a robbery" is a hot slough. There are fifteen pages of this, besides eight of prison argot, and three of the phrases peculiar to the English underworld. And there are like sections on the terminology of the oil fields, the lumber camps, the railroads, the circus and carnival, the hobo jungles, the cattle ranges, and all the other favorite scenes of pulp fiction. There is even a short section on the chautauqua.

In a brief introduction Mr. Rose explains how his thesaurus is to be used. "When preparing to write a story," he says, "the writer should turn to the proper section and look through it for any number of terms which he can foresee will fit into his story. These should be written on paper and kept handy during the preparation of the first draft." Normally, of course, this should be done after the plot has been mapped out. But if there is no plot ready, then a search of the thesaurus will often suggest one. While preparing it, says Mr. Rose, it "became manifest upon the author" that "merely the reading and studying of the characteristic slang was sufficient to act as a sort of divine inflatus." The English here, alas, is somewhat shaky. Certainly the preposition usually hitched to *manifest* is not *upon*,

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nor is it common to transform the divine afflatus into *in*flatus. But these are details, and of no relevance. If, as one often hears, it is a service to the national letters to write fiction in bad English, then it is surely a greater service to undertake a wholesale stimulation of the industry in worse English.

The true faults of the work lie rather in its omissions. There is a brief section on the Yankee dialect, but none on that of the Aframerican, whether of Harlem or of the cotton fields. The chautauqua has a section, but not the burlesque show. The vocabularies of baseball, boxing, football, golf, polo, and the turf are given, but not that of tennis. All the really new argots are missing—for example, those of nudism, dog-racing, the interstate buses, the New Deal, and the proletarian fiction business. The last-named lack is a serious one, for it must be manifest upon any attentive reader (as Mr. Rose would say) that a great deal of the proletarian fiction now current is written by persons who have very little personal familiarity with life among the lowly. Only too often it is the work of young Harvard and N. Y. U. literati who first tried writing in the lofty episcopal manner of T. S. Eliot, and having failed at that, turned in despair to the style and ideology of Gorki. How many of them really know what an Oregon hop-picker calls credit expansion? Or in what terms, precisely, the Trotzky dialectic is debated in the cotton mills of South Carolina? Or what nicknames are given to Adam Smith, Dow-Jones, David Ricardo, and Dr. Irving Fisher in the Gary, Indiana, sash-weight factories?

Here is where Mr. Rose might have helped his clients. And here he has failed them. H. L. Mencken

New Lyrics from Old Symbols

Threshold and Hearth. By Marya Zaturenska. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

THIS is the first book by a writer who has contributed verse to the magazines for some fifteen years. Within a rather narrowly restricted field of subject matter and of technique Miss Zaturenska's lyrics show careful workmanship and genuine poetic sensibility. If they are to be ascribed to any tradition, it is the common tradition to which most of our talented younger feminine poets adhere. For, with a few exceptions, the ladies obstinately maintain a tradition of their own, which has been very little influenced either by the current ferment of ideas or by male experimentalism from Pound to Auden; it takes its departure, perhaps, from a blend of the Georgians, Emily Dickinson, and Elinor Wylie.

The poems in "Threshold and Hearth" are among the best examples of their kind. Although Miss Zaturenska confines herself unadventurously to iambics and fairly regular rhymed stanzas, the joinery is skilful, forced effects are avoided, and the music is cumulative. There is a profusion of neat lines like this, describing hills: "A strict world narrowed by gold and green"; and this, of autumn: "Metallic mystery of turgid lakes." Within the limits of emotion that is always merely personal the range is considerable, varying from the quiet resignation of these stanzas:

> The years grow small and gray
> Above the immobile hills,
> I see them float away—
>
> Neither have I grown rich,
> Or deeper, more serene:
> I am what I have been . . .

to the fervor of these:

> The wind came up from the black streets my childhood knew
> And talked to me although I closed my ears,
> Although I wept and turned away my head,
> The terrible streets spoke to me of the dead.
> They come with the roar of the winds, they are not dead,
> They bring the lost child back, they torture her,
> Their hands are red with her sharp blood, their feet
> Thunder in dread irrevocable beat.

At their worst the thought and the imagery tend to become extremely threadbare:

> Beyond the mountains lie
> The lands for which I seek,
> Lands I shall never find
> Until the day I die.

Sometimes, however, Miss Zaturenska manages to obtain a fresh effect from well-worn material, as in the poem entitled The Scythe, the Spindle, and the Cypress Tree. Even here, however, the mustiness of the symbols detracts from the cogency of the poem. If a poet is to continue to use the old bookish symbols he must take special pains to show that they have retained their vitality—unless, indeed, they are used for satirical contrast. Few of us today ever see a scythe or a spindle, and the cypress, perhaps, rarely impresses us as one of the more fatal of our flora. Death is much more likely to force itself upon us in the guise of a speeding automobile, a faulty mine shaft, a wired chair with straps for the arms and legs, or, as in Cocteau's "Orphée," the accoutrements of the operating room. To make such forbidding objects into poetry is, of course, difficult. But it is being done with increasing success. And it has to be done if poetry is to preserve its function as the vehicle of fresh experience.

Miss Zaturenska's evasion of the contemporary world is a bit hard to reconcile with the facts that she published Elegies over John Reed in *Poetry* a decade ago, and that she is married to one of the ablest of the young revolutionary poets, Horace Gregory. There are, however, indications that she is going to try something different. Although the opening poem of this volume beckons the reader into the "land of fruit unharvested," where "eyes, fixed on perfection, find content in the eternal and the permanent," the concluding poem appears to be a goodby to all that:

> Only by these old symbols do I move
> And by these ancient symbols do I die . . .
>
> O why so still my song?
> Leave the eternal pastoral and fly
> To where the city's vast metallic eye
> Opens on visions carved of iron and steel . . .

This acknowledgment that the things of our own time also have their niche in eternity will doubtless prove salutary.

Philip Blair Rice

The Puppet Emperor

Twilight in the Forbidden City. By Sir Reginald Johnston. D. Appleton-Century Company. $5.

THERE are Englishmen—and Americans for that matter—who literally wag all over when in the presence of "nobility," that is, of people who have not worked for their living for hundreds of years. Such an Englishman is Sir Reginald Johnston, author of "Twilight in the Forbidden City," who was the English tutor of Pu Yi, the last of the degenerate Manchu dynasty which the Chinese people overthrew in 1911. Sir Reginald wags through 500 pages of twaddle about the doings of him he calls the "Emperor" and of the make-believe Manchu court in the Forbidden City in Peking after 1911. The volume will delight high-hatted old ladies of the type pictured in *New Yorker* cartoons, who remark: "My dear, I adored your paper on Bronxville and the League of Nations!" Nobody else could

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possibly delight in the trivialities here recorded or, with Sir Reginald, grow indignant because people call the ex-emperor Henry Pu Yi instead of His Majesty. The "Emperor" wrote an introduction to the book. The old ladies will like that too.

Most persons beyond the mental age of eight or nine will be unable to regard it as of epoch-making importance that Pu Yi once actually played tennis, rowed a boat, read the newspapers, or wrote a poem. And after reading the poems quoted they will not be impressed by Pu Yi's glowing intelligence, for most Chinese schoolboys of eight can do better today. (These data are supposed to prove that Pu Yi is capable of ruling China as emperor.) However, there is a serious side to the book. For it is intended most clearly as propaganda for the restoration of Pu Yi to the throne of China as Manchu emperor under the guiding sword of Japanese imperialism. Perhaps that explains why a volume costing $5 could be published today. Certainly it is doubtful whether 500 people in America will buy it, but I have been informed that the Japanese buy thousands of copies of such books and distribute them free to American educational institutions and individuals.

From the beginning to the end of the volume Sir Reginald protests—all too vehemently—that neither he nor the other foreigners had anything to do with the intrigues to restore the Manchu dynasty. Yet the hoof of the horse shows throughout these pages; in 1932 the whole horse became visible when the Japanese took Pu Yi to Manchuria and set him up as their "Chief Executive" of Manchoukuo. This was but a step toward the restoration of the Manchu dynasty with Pu Yi as emperor.

It is amusing to read Sir Reginald's protestations of innocence, and then observe that he reproduces reports which he, supposedly the unofficial tutor of Pu Yi, made "for the information of the British authorities"—reports which clearly show that he was not a free agent but the official representative of the British government. He also tells how he prevented Pu Yi from taking the one decent step the ex-emperor ever tried to take—that is, to give up his title and also the subsidy from the Chinese Republic. A lengthy letter by Sir Reginald to a "certain English-speaking ex-official" is also quoted, showing that this gentleman carried on conversations with the Englishman about the necessity of Pu Yi retaining his title in case of a restoration of the monarchy. Sir John Jordan, British Minister to China, is also quoted as saying that perhaps Pu Yi would later be "elected president of China." This "election" was clearly to be a stepping-stone to the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, for which Englishmen, including Sir Reginald, constantly worked in China. The plans and hopes for such a monarchy continually repeat themselves in this book; everything connected with the republic, or with Sun Yat-sen as the leader of republican ideas, is referred to with vitriolic hatred.

In these pages we see Sir Reginald in secret conference with Chang Tso-lin, late bandit and Japanese agent in Manchuria, who plotted the restoration of the Manchus. Sir Reginald also "rescues" Pu Yi from the Chinese and takes him into the foreign-legation quarter of Peking. There Pu Yi was lodged in the Japanese legation until he was moved to Tientsin, where he lived until the Japanese were ready to use him in Manchuria. He was always the center of monarchist intrigues in which the foreigners took an active part. Sir Reginald relates how he visited Pu Yi in Tientsin after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria began and "His Majesty" declared that he would soon be going to Manchuria. Sir Reginald made a mysterious trip to Peking, the nature of which it is easy to see, then returned to Tientsin "for further conversations with the Emperor." A few days later Pu Yi was removed by the Japanese to Manchuria, and Johnston has the audacity to tell us that "the Dragon" had "resumed possession of his rightful heritage."

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Pu Yi resumed possession of nothing. It was the Japanese imperialists who took full possession of Pu Yi. The attempt of the Japanese to restore the Manchu dynasty, with Peking as the capital, does not mean even the restoration of the Manchus. It means nothing but the temporary use of impotent "nobles" in the conquest of China. This book, which is both trivial and vicious, leaves the impression that had it not been for the foreign imperialists, Pu Yi, the last of the Manchu ruling house, might have turned out to be a harmless and decent person doing some kind of useful work in China. As it is, he is a degenerate tool of the foreign imperialists.

AGNES SMEDLEY

Jean-Jacques's Doctrines

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Moralist. By Charles William Hendel. Oxford University Press. Two Volumes. $7.50.

THE luminous enigma which is Jean-Jacques Rousseau still baffles us. We are not yet quite certain whether the glow which surrounds his name is the effulgence of pure glory or the cold radiation of the chemistry of evil. But in either case his memory will not dim. And it is doubtful whether any one of his interpreters or commentators has been able to evaluate adequately his significance with reference to his age or to ours. Apologies for him leave as much to be desired as subjective condemnations. The difficulty involved is not only that of allowing for the inevitable distortions of distance and of personal standpoints. Nor is it only that of resolving the man's psychological complexities. Nor is it that, having taken too radical a stand toward some of the most fundamental of human aspirations, we cannot approach him with scientific detachment. The difficulty so far has perhaps been chiefly the failure to attack the "problem of Rousseau" with the aid of a method which would avoid those obstacles that it is possible to avoid.

That there is only one method of approaching Jean-Jacques is a proposition which only a dogmatist would maintain. But we may say that before we can evaluate his significance adequately, a clear account of the facts of his life and a comprehensive exposition of his doctrines must be made available. This is more important certainly than praise or blame, which tells us more about the writer's prejudices than it does about the subject. And it is more important than interpretations on the basis of a "thesis"—as for instance that of his double personality, which accounts for the rhythmic oscillations of his thought; for these serve mainly to exhibit the ingenuity of the scholars who construct them.

The biographical task was recently accomplished with notable success by Matthew Josephson. The task of a comprehensive exposition of Rousseau's doctrines is now undertaken by Professor Hendel, a man known to students of the history of philosophy as the writer of a distinguished study of Hume. Before these two studies there was hardly anything in English capable of meeting the need. Of course books about Rousseau have not been lacking. But it can hardly be said of any one of them that it is fully adequate, whatever special virtues may be granted to most of them.

Professor Hendel approaches his task with deliberate ease and with a quiet but thoroughly sympathetic interest. He has presented a more complete exposition of Rousseau's ideas than any other the reviewer knows of. And he seems intent throughout the six hundred-odd pages in discovering what Rousseau meant, rather than in noting what he should have meant. This is perhaps the chief value of the book. To grasp the meaning of Rousseau's ideas is not always easy; easier it always is to disagree with him and thereby miss his profound insights into the topics over which the passionate light of his mind played for years. But Professor Hendel has done more than this. He has charted the thought to which Rousseau was heir. Valuable in itself, this is indispensable for the discovery, or perhaps it were better to say, for the surprise, of Rousseau's actual meaning. The intellectual currents playing on Jean-Jacques's sensitive mind are studied, and a picture emerges which reflects considerable light on the nature of his problems and the ways he had open to him for their solution. Nor has Professor Hendel neglected to throw light on Rousseau's doctrines by frequent references to relevant biographical data. He has not psychoanalyzed away Rousseau's thought; but he has avoided the contrary vice of presenting a body of ideas as if it took its rise solely from another body of ideas, irrespective of the personal and the social forces which shaped the thinker, and in obedience only to the laws of deductive logic.

Professor Hendel finds Plato the predominating influence upon Rousseau's thought. That Jean-Jacques was a platonist after a fashion would not be claimed by him as a discovery, but credit is due him for the careful manner in which he has traced the varied connections between master and disciple. The discipleship was never abject, and at times it seems paradoxical, as when we are informed that Rousseau finds sanction in Plato for his democratic ideas. But this he found because it was not Plato's metaphysics or even his articulate vision of the world that primarily attracted Rousseau. He went to the Greek mainly for inspiration, for moral propulsion and fundamental direction, and from Plato Rousseau derived the profound sense of the relation between educational, moral, and political matters which was perhaps the most important discovery of the greatest of the Greeks.

One might have expected an explicit treatment of those fundamental incoherences and confusions in Rousseau of which his critics have so frequently complained. It has been noted, for instance, that might remains the foundation of political obligation even for Rousseau, since his mystical "general will" turns

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out in actuality to be nothing but the will of the majority. This is a knotty problem, which it seems to the reviewer has not been adequately faced. Nor is this the only one. The superficial impression one gathers is that Rousseau was quite free from fundamental difficulties. But perhaps the reason why no attention was paid to them in an explicit fashion is that Professor Hendel does not take Jean-Jacques's importance to consist in his greatness as a systematic thinker, but rather in his having revealed the meaning and the force of certain germinal ideas, and in having cast them into forms which his age could use, whereas it is the work of methodical philosophers afterwards to explore them systematically. Professor Hendel's distinctive achievement has been to explore methodically and to give systematic presentation to Rousseau's ideas.

ELISEO VIVAS

Drama

The Actors Are Come

ADMIRERS of Gilbert and Sullivan have something new to talk about at last. For years their memories have been going back to that production of "Iolanthe" which Winthrop Ames staged in the long ago and which seems in retrospect about all that a production of such an opera should be. But if one may judge by its first offering, the D'Oyly Carte company now visiting this country at the Martin Beck Theater is quite capable of equaling even the memory of that now almost legendary "Iolanthe." It can sing, it can dance, and it can act. What is more, it can do all three at once, and this is exactly what the Gilbert and Sullivan operas somewhat unreasonably require. Ordinarily one must put up with a compromise, but no member of the present organization seems to ask any quarter. Every larynx is as agile as every pair of legs, and one would be hard put to it to decide whether the cadenzas or the jigs deserve the highest commendation.

To the Gilbert and Sullivan tradition the D'Oyly Carte company is, of course, what Bayreuth is to Wagner—the representative of a sort of apostolic tradition. The father of the present manager built the Savoy Theater, where the most successful of the works were first performed. To his son he handed down not only the blessing which he had received from the masters but also the original annotated prompt books and the orchestral score, which has never been printed—with the result, so it is said, that all other productions have to use a score approximately reconstructed from the piano version. Every piece of business is, we are assured, precisely what the dictatorial and irascible Gilbert approved, every nuance in strict accord with the original production. Nor does any of this piety seem to weigh upon the spirits of the performers as one naturally feared it might. To be reverently irresponsible and whimsical by strict rule sounds difficult. One might anticipate with dread something like the churchiness which so stultifies most performances of Shakespeare's plays. But if the members of the company are oppressed by the sense of being part of a National Institution they manage to hide the fact.

Looking back upon the performance as a whole, one can detect, perhaps, some of the characteristics for which long tradition is responsible. One remembers, for example, the easy and flowing movements by which the transitions are made from one grouping to another; the absence of those embarrassing moments, frequent in the half-impromptu performance with which we are most familiar, when a character who has finished a song or a dance seems to wonder just how he is going to get himself to that part of the stage where he needs must be if he is to make proper connection with the companions of his next

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escapade, vocal or pantomimic. But during the actual performance one is aware of nothing except the almost miraculous ease with which all the evolutions seem to be executed and the pleasant sense of security which comes from the assurance that even the best-remembered and favorite bits will more than come up to expectations. That suggests what is probably the best way of summarizing the superiority of the D'Oyly Carte performances. Ordinarily what one actually hears and sees needs to be assisted by one's imagination of what it might conceivably have been; in this case one is delighted to find a sprightliness and humor even beyond what had been imagined in one's most enthusiastic moments.

"The Gondoliers"—with which the company began its engagement—is a delightful piece without being quite the equal of the two or three supreme examples of the genius of the collaborators. However, the bill is to be changed twice weekly, and by the time this notice appears "Iolanthe" will just be giving way to "Pinafore." JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Films

The Unregenerate Art

IF the recent "The World Moves On" is a sample of the kind of thing that the League of Decency has in store for us, the prospects for the newest of the arts in the near future are anything but encouraging. From almost any adult point of view the picture is one of the most indecent exhibitions in a long time. And one refers not so much to the mawkish religious appeal in the last scene as to the same sort of dishonest romanticism of big-business values that this column objected to last spring in "The House of Rothschild." Here it is a family of international cotton merchants whose triumphal march through the ages is traced out for our edification. We assist at the founding of the firm in New Orleans at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when a pact is made that the "interests" of the family shall be placed above everything else. The impression is created that this declaration of loyalty constitutes about the noblest gesture of which the human spirit is capable. Almost immediately we are hurtled forward to the eve of the World War, when representatives of the various foreign branches of the family convene in New Orleans for the purpose of drinking another toast to the family. Much comic business is got out of the assorted nationalities, and the American heir, played in an obviously shamefaced manner by the ubiquitous Franchot Tone, of course falls in love with his beautiful English cousin. Following a brief and stereotyped war sequence, a cocktail party in a New York pent-house serves to reconstruct the jittery epoch of the twenties. The young cotton prince is riding high on the boom-time wave; he does not heed the warnings of his wife or those of one of his foreign cousins, who has somehow, in the meantime, acquired a priestly garb. Of course he is completely wiped out in the crash and returns to the ancestral home in New Orleans only to find everything in ruins. Not quite everything, however, for it suddenly occurs to his wife to point to a crucifix hanging over the mantel. And with this most literal *deux ex machina* the tawdry and unconvincing chronicle is brought to a close. One has taken the trouble to give so long a summary because it is all too likely that it is by means of such disingenuous subterfuges as these that Hollywood will attempt its regeneration during the coming season. Nothing in "The World Moves On" will bring a blush to the cheek of any maiden or cardinal. Its indecency is of another order—the sentimentalization of those values in American life from which the American public has been driven to seek relief in the uninhibited humors of James Cagney and the Junoesque curves of Mae West. But it is perhaps too much to expect that an organization calling itself the League of Decency should be concerned with the problem of decency in any serious sense.

It is pleasant to be able to turn to one or two new films which reveal no effort toward our immediate moral salvation. "Bulldog Drummond Strikes Back" is much too sophisticated to do us either very much good or very much harm of a spiritual variety. How much the peculiar quality of the Bulldog Drummond pictures has depended on Ronald Colman's individual personality one cannot be certain, but it is to be noted that anything at all resembling it has been found only in those too rare pictures in which he appears. It is a quality which comes out of a very special gift for suggesting the ridiculous in even the most serious dramatic situations; and because such a gift, requiring as it does a certain detached intelligence, is so rare among screen actors, Ronald Colman must be counted among Hollywood's most priceless possessions.

"One More River" was not one of the late John Galsworthy's most respectable achievements in the novel-writing field. It suffered considerably from being at least the thirteenth retelling of the one story that he had to tell—the one about the beautiful and misunderstood woman who is rescued from a brutal husband by a sensitive young admirer. But so good are Diana Wynyard and Frank Lawton in the principal roles of the screen version that the old story takes on a new reality. It is almost as if it were impossible for this pair to give a poor performance even when dealing with second-rate material. The courtroom scenes in the picture are also rendered with a finer authenticity than the story deserves. WILLIAM TROY

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